

**PAINTED TOMBS
IN THE
NECROPOLIS OF
MARISSA
(MARÊSHAH)**

John Punnett Peters, Hermann
Thiersch





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PAINTED TOMBS
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NECROPOLIS OF MARISSA
(MARÉSHAH).

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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PAINTED TOMBS
 IN THE
 NECROPOLIS OF MARISSA
 (MARÊSHAH).

BY
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 NEW YORK,

AND
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AUTHORS' PREFACE.

Although the Tombs here described were discovered by us in 1902, the publication of this Memoir has been delayed by many causes, of which our wide separation from each other was not the least. With one of us in America and the other in Germany, whilst the editing and the preparation of the illustrations had to be conducted in England, much delay was inevitable if the work was to be carefully corrected whilst in progress: moreover, the consequent difficulty of arriving at agreement when doubtful points arose was not a little increased. We have, however, signed the different sections of the work, so that the responsibility and views of each author may be easily recognised. Now that the work is completed, we have to express our sincere thanks to the Palestine Exploration Fund (London) for the care, trouble, and expense which have been devoted to its production, particularly in the preparation of the Plates. The interest of the Tombs so largely depends on the paintings, that it seemed indispensable to illustrate these in colour, which was made possible by the generous aid of the Dominican Fathers in lending the coloured drawings made by them. These drawings, no less than the photographs, had to be made in these underground caverns, amidst masses of debris and without daylight. It may then be accepted that in illustrating paintings, executed, as these are, with a free hand, something must be lost of the *naïveté* and dash of the originals; and that the precise "nuances" of colouring two thousand years old can hardly be reproduced by the printer. Although the paintings themselves are not of a very high order, they have a strong local interest, and possess some of those lively and vigorous traits which distinguish all true Hellenistic art.

JOHN P. PETERS.

HERMANN THIERSCH.

January, 1905.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

The remarkable tombs which form the subject of the present monograph were first discovered by natives shortly after the cessation of the excavations in the Shéphélah district carried on by the Palestine Exploration Fund during the years 1898-1900. Illicit excavation for antiquities has always been prevalent in the East, and now that Palestine is yearly visited by tourists eager to procure some souvenir, and ready to pay a price totally out of proportion to the value of the object, even if genuine, dealers and their agents scour the country in search of antiquities. Long experience has taught the native rifler the signs whereby the presence of a tomb may be reasonably suspected, and sites which have been scientifically excavated by legitimate enterprise are no sooner cleared, after the expiration of the firman or official permit, than numbers of unauthorised diggers throng the locality in the hope of finding something which chance, or, oftener, lack of time, had prevented the previous workers from discovering.

In the present instance, the first news of the tombs was the report that notable finds had been made at some tombs in the neighbourhood of Beit Jibrin, for which dealers had been willing to pay £50 on the spot. The well-known archæologists, the Rev. J. P. Peters, D.D., of New York, and Dr. Hermann Thiersch, of Munich, happened to be travelling in Palestine at the time, and were fortunate enough to find a guide to lead them to the place where these treasures had been found. A preliminary account of the tombs was contributed by these two scholars in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, pp. 393-397; and it was at once recognized that a discovery of the greatest archæological interest had been made. The tombs, it is true, were no longer intact: they had been at once partially defaced by native fanaticism, whilst the contents had fallen a prey to native greed; but the two authors promptly took steps to obtain complete measurements and drawings, with the result that

the painted decoration, which makes two of the tombs practically unique in Palestine, was copied and recorded with precision. Mr. C. Raad, of Jerusalem, took a number of large photographs of the interior of the tombs under considerable difficulty, and the Reverend Fathers Vincent and Savignac, Dominicans of the Convent of St. Stephen, Jerusalem, made sketches, water-colour paintings, and copies of the inscriptions, which were generously placed at the disposal of the Fund by the Reverend Father Lagrange, the head of the Ecole Biblique de St. Etienne. The Committee were thereby encouraged to undertake the publication of the present monograph, believing that the importance of these tombs was such as to justify the necessarily heavy expense which the preparation of the plates entailed.

The unique character of these tombs and the value of their contents for Palestinian archaeology is made abundantly evident in these pages. Thus, in the first place, one of the inscriptions (p. 38 below) proves the accuracy of the view which identified Tell Sandahannah with the Biblical Marêshah,* by its mention of the place-name (Μαριση). Evidently the modern name Beit Jibrin has dislodged the older designation, which, however, still survives in the neighbouring Khurbet Mer'ash. It is from this same inscription, moreover, that we learn of the presence of a Sidonian colony at Marêshah, and this interesting notice accounts for the character of some of the personal names which are found in the fifty-eight inscriptions painted, cut, or scrawled within the tombs. Apart from the Greek names, some of which may be nothing more than Hellenized equivalents of Semitic originals,† Sesmaios, Meerbalos, Balsalo, and Badon all bear upon their face a decided Phœnician stamp.‡ On the other hand, Sariah, Babas (and Babatas?),§ appear rather to be Jewish, whilst in Kosnatanos, Kosbanos (to which perhaps add the obscure Kosakos?), the divine name finds Idumæan analogies.

Apart from the proper names, which after all only appeal to specialists, it may be safely said that the Greek inscriptions, which are here published for the first time, are of particular interest for Greek epigraphy. Several of them are dated, and a careful discussion of the era will be found in

* Dr. Bliss, *Quarterly Statement*, 1900, p. 336; cp. also Prof. G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 233.

† Cp. Jason for Joshua, Alcimus for Eliakim. So, too, the names compounded with Apollo may point to the influence of Gaza (*Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 395).

‡ Note, however, what is said of Sesmaos, p. 39.

§ Possibly twins.

Chapter IV below. In addition to the facsimiles which have been printed in Chapter III, four plates have been prepared from squeezes, in order to illustrate the more interesting examples. Among these are included a few which were taken from the photographs kindly provided by Fathers Vincent and Savignac, viz., Plates XVII, Nos. 6-8; XVIII, Nos. 9, 14; XIX, No. 15; and XX, Nos. 20 and 31. In the case of the important inscriptions No. 1 and No. 33, no satisfactory plate could be obtained; but the facsimiles (pages 36 and 59), which, like the other facsimiles, are taken from squeezes, will probably be found sufficient. To No. 33 in particular the attention of scholars may be invited; obviously the last word has not yet been said upon the interpretation of this difficult and obscure text.

For the study of Palestinian architecture the tombs of Marissa are of distinct value: they illustrate examples of sepulchral art which are quite exceptional in Palestine, and appear to have originated in Alexandria. But the chief interest of the tombs is undoubtedly the fine series of paintings found in two of them. Although intact when first discovered, the tomb at once fell the victim to Mohammedan superstition, and some of the frescoes were irretrievably damaged. When it is considered that painted tombs are extremely rare in Palestine and Syria, the unique character of the necropolis of Marissa becomes apparent. The plates, published here, illustrating the internal decoration, speak for themselves. They afford at once a fund of material bearing upon the culture of the period, and provide room enough for speculation and research. Thus, as regards the animals, analogies from Egypt and from the Sidonian royal tomb lie close at hand.* A less known, but more interesting, parallel has been supplied by the Honorary Secretary of the Fund. Mr. J. D. Crace observes:—

"This frieze of animals, which, so far as they represent existing creatures, are North African, whilst even the imaginary beasts were the reputed inhabitants of Africa,† may

* Mr. Crum suggests that the name of the mysterious animal in Plate XIII is the Coptic *ⲙⲓⲟⲩⲁ*, gazelle. It is possible that the artist drew from memory, or the name may have been placed above the animal by someone who knew the name better than the animal it designated.

† According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, VIII, 30):—"Ctesias (in the *Indica*) informs us that among these same Ethiopians there is an animal found which he calls '*Manticlora*': it has a triple row of teeth, which fit into each other like those of a comb, the face and ears of a man, and azure eyes, is of the colour of blood, has the body of a lion, and a tail ending in a sting, like that of a scorpion."

well be compared with the famous mosaic at Palestrina, said to be that which formed the pavement of part of the Temple of Fortune at Præneste. There also the same animals, both real and imaginary, are represented; and similarly their names are inscribed near them in Greek character, although with some difference in the spelling. The crocodile, the rhinoceros, the leopard, the hippopotamus (*χοιποποταμος* in the mosaic), occur in both, as does the sphinx, while a pachyderm resembling a tapir is, in the mosaic, labelled 'Ξιστ.' It is unfortunate that there appears to be no really good illustration of this mosaic, which has been the subject of much learned discussion. When the mosaic was discovered, in the year 1640, Cardinal Barberini purchased it, and caused a careful drawing to be made of it, and then had it removed to Rome for repair before having it re-laid in his palace at Palestrina. I have not much doubt that in the course of these removals and repairs some accidental mutilations and changes occurred, for the name of the animal is not always contiguous to the representation, and it is difficult not to suspect that in the names themselves some letters have been lost or misplaced. It was perhaps due to the difficulty thus created that Suaresius, quoted by Kircher,* asserts that the names of the several animals are Coptic, 'que cum Ægyptiaca caractere scripta sint.' That they are written in Greek character is evident enough, though it is just possible that some of the names were those in local use. Without going over them in detail, however, the fact remains that the same animals, drawn in a very similar style and similarly inscribed, occur in both the mosaic and the tomb. I am inclined to think that this fact, carefully studied, may prove of some importance in the question of the antiquity of the mosaic, so much debated; for, as regards the tomb, the evidence as to date is conclusive within very narrow limits."

It remains for the Committee of the Fund to express their indebtedness to the unselfish labours of the two authors whose elaborate account of these tombs at Marissa will, it is hoped, be welcomed by all who are interested in Biblical archaeology. The well-known work of these two scholars is a guarantee of their scholarship and critical training, and it was a happy chance that the investigation of these tombs, with their strange combination of Semitic and Greek culture, should have fallen to men whose special studies have been devoted to the furtherance of oriental and classical research respectively.

Owing to the very nature of the work, the publication of the following pages has been delayed longer than was anticipated. The proofs have had the benefit of the authors' corrections throughout, and in spite of their distance from each other and from this country, no effort has been spared to attain the completeness and to ensure the accuracy which the work merits.

* A. Kircher, *Latium* (Amsterdam, 1671).

The preparation of the plates, moreover, entailed considerable time and labour, and the Committee are indebted to Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A., for his kindness in undertaking their supervision. The work has been carried out by Messrs. Bale and Danielsson with their customary skill and care, and the Committee venture to hope that the series of plates of these unique tombs will be a lasting contribution to the subject. For these photographs the Committee are indebted, in the first instance, to the promptitude with which Mr. C. Raad of Jerusalem accompanied the authors to the tombs, and under many difficulties obtained such excellent results. The debt to the Dominican Fathers has already been particularized. Without their coloured drawings the plates would have lost much of their value and interest, and their own plans and photographs have proved of the greatest assistance, especially in the second and third chapters.

I have added a few notes [in square brackets], chiefly upon the names in Chapter III; and for much friendly help from beginning to end, and especially in the technical portions of Chapter II, I desire to express my indebtedness to Mr. J. D. Crace, the Honorary Secretary of the Fund.

STANLEY A. COOK.

PAINTED TOMBS IN THE NECROPOLIS OF MARISSA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

DISCOVERY OF TOMBS—SURROUNDINGS OF THE TOMBS—PAINTING IN TOMBS—
HISTORY OF MARISSA—TESTIMONY OF THE TOMBS.

1. *Discovery of Tombs.*—It was early in June, 1902, when we heard in Jerusalem that there was much illicit excavating for antiquities in the neighbourhood of Beit Jibrin, and especially that in a tomb at that place some notable "finds" had recently been made, for which dealers had paid £50 on the spot. It had been our intention to visit the sites excavated by the Fund in the years 1898–1900, for which purpose we had already planned a trip to the region of Beit Jibrin. We journeyed from Jerusalem by a roundabout route, by way of Beersheba, in order to obtain a comprehensive view of the Shephelah. On the last two miles of our journey, from the junction of the Wady el-Biad and the Wady el-'Arab, south of Tell Sandahannah, to Beit Jibrin, we found the entire edge of the hills on the east of the road dug up by the natives in their search for graves; the road itself was at places full of holes, and here and there the antiquity hunters had followed up the small side valleys descending into the Wady el-Biad from the east.

We had heard in Jerusalem of a certain Nubian who could guide us

intelligently over the site of Dr. Bliss's excavations at Tell Sandahannah, and also show us other recent discoveries of interest. It was not, however, until the very close of our excursion, after he had shown us different caves and holes already well known, that he told us of a newly discovered tomb of great interest, and led us to an insignificant looking hole in the ground, in the long line of grave excavations on the east side of the Wady el-Biad, opposite Tell Sandahannah (Plate I). We had been so often deceived, and induced to descend with exalted expectations into holes that proved to contain nothing of interest, that it was with some hesitation, the hour being then quite late, and only on our guide's reiterated assurances of the real importance of this hole, that one of us descended into it. It proved to be, as the following pages will show, the most remarkable tomb ever discovered in Palestine, and after a brief examination we unquestioningly followed our guide across a little wady to the corner of the next hill to the south, and down the very small and difficult passage which led into Tomb II (Plate I). Our share in the discovery of the tombs, therefore, was a matter of pure accident. We chanced to be the first travelling scholars to arrive on the scene after their excavation by the natives, which had taken place, as far as we could ascertain, about two months before our visit.

Even before the excavation of Tell Sandahannah the natives of this region had begun a search for tombs. One result of the excavations at Tell Sandahannah was to stimulate their activity in this direction to further efforts, and the great bulk of the antiquities which made their way to Jerusalem during the winter preceding our visit seems to have come from the graves in the neighbourhood of Beit Jibrin. The notable "finds," for which the high figure of £50 was reported to have been paid on the spot, were those made in our graves. It was impossible for us to ascertain with certainty what was the condition of these graves when they were first discovered, and whether there were any signs of previous rifling. It seems probable, however, that they had not been robbed before, since some objects were found intact, which will be described later. We were informed also that the paintings, which we found in a damaged condition, were, at the time of discovery, in a perfect state of preservation. The heads which had been scratched out were effaced, so we were told, by the Sheikh of Beit Jibrin, a pious Moslem, who, on entering the tombs, cried out *haram*, "forbidden," and drawing his knife from his girdle, scratched out forthwith the faces of the trumpeter, the rider and the Ethiopian on the animal frieze. The charming paintings by the side of the main



ENTRANCE TO THE SIDONIAN TOMB. (Merrill.)



ENTRANCE TO THE TOMB OF THE MUSICIANS. (Merrill.)

chamber in Tomb II were still more grievously injured for the same reason. Later, in spite of all our efforts to protect the tombs, native notoriety hunters and souvenir collectors wrote their names on the walls or broke off pieces of painted stone or stucco.

We were unable to make an extended examination of the tombs the first evening, but at once arranged with our guide to return the following morning with candles, paper, ink, and lunch. On the way to the house of the Sheikh, whose guests we were, we encountered the *imâm* of the village, who cursed our guide, and bade him not to show the tombs to infidels and strangers. Fortunately we were accompanied by a *zaptieh* from Beersheba, and with him to represent the Government no opposition was made to our visit the following morning. We spent the day measuring, making sketches, and copying inscriptions, with such rude material as we could secure in the village, fearful lest further injury might be done before we could reach Jerusalem and return prepared for a more careful examination.

Our second visit was made the following week, the American Consul, Dr. Selah Merrill, giving us escort and much valuable assistance.* We took with us also Mr. C. Raad of Jerusalem, the well-known photographer, by whom the large photographs of the interior of the tombs reproduced in this Memoir were taken. The work of photography was peculiarly difficult, owing to the lack of light and ventilation: there was no air to dissipate the smoke produced by the magnesium with which the flashlight was made, and after one or two photographs had been taken, the air would become so thick that nothing further could be done for many hours. This was only one of many serious difficulties which Mr. Raad encountered. Fortunately there was no question of night or day in the tombs, and photographs could be taken or inscriptions copied at one time as well as another.

We remained encamped on the hill above the first tomb for some three days, and it was on this second visit that we discovered Tombs III and IV, the latter being shown us by a lad from the village. There was no sign of robbery or breakage in the last tomb, which had presumably been rifled in antiquity.

After our photographs had been developed, we showed them and copies of our inscriptions to the Dominican Fathers, the Frères Prêcheurs Lagrange

* We are indebted to him for several views, and also for a photograph of objects found in Tomb I (Plate XXI).

and Vincent, at the Convent of S. Étienne in Jerusalem, and also took steps for the protection of the tombs, making representations regarding them to the local Minister of Public Instruction at Jerusalem and to the Director of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, both directly and through the German and American Consulates. As a result, the tombs were placed under government protection, and entrance forbidden except by special order from the authorities at Hebron, in which province Beit Jibrin lies, and later they were ordered to be closed with doors. The Dominican Fathers Lagrange, Vincent and Savignac, at once obtained permission from the authorities to visit the tombs, with our consent and approval, and made sketches, water-colour paintings and copies of the inscriptions, which, with great courtesy, they placed at our disposal. These are in part utilized in the present memoir to supplement and correct our own work.*

In the first week of September one of us made a second visit to the tombs for the purpose of comparing our work with that of the Dominican Fathers, of re-examining inscriptions with regard to which there were differences of opinion among us, and the like. On this occasion we had the valuable assistance of the keen eyes of Dr. E. W. Masterman of Jerusalem, and the escort of the Spanish Consul, M. de Cesaris.

2. *The Surroundings of the Tombs.*—The tombs and their contents are described in the following section; it may not be amiss to preface the description with a brief note on their surroundings.

Tombs I and II are located just at the edge of the hill, where it descends into the valley, one at the south, the other at the north corner of a small side valley coming in from the east, directly opposite Tell Sandahannah, across the Wādy-el-Biad. The native excavations revealed the fact that the edge of these hills, both in the main valley and on the side valleys, and also to some extent the valleys themselves, are full of graves. Most of these seem to be varieties of the shaft or pit tomb, described in *Excavations in Palestine during the years 1898-1900*, pp. 199-203. Some of the pits were little longer or broader than an ordinary grave, others were much larger.

* Their plans and cuts of the graves give all the little irregularities with more precision than ours, owing to the smaller amount of time at our disposal. The latter above all aim at a correct reproduction of the work as a whole, hence we differ only in unimportant incidental details, which, however, are regularly indicated in the following pages.—H. TH.



RUINED ROCK-CUT TOMB ON CEMETERY HILL OPPOSITE TELL SANDAHANNAH.
(Merrill.)



TELL SANDAHANNAH FROM THE EAST. (Merrill.)

In some the burial had been at the bottom of the grave-like shaft, and the corpse had been covered over by a roof of stones. More often receptacles for coffins had been hollowed out on the sides at the bottom, or there were more or less developed tomb-chambers at one or both ends of the shaft.

There had evidently, also, been graves on the hills above the wādy, especially on the hill in which lay Tomb I, as well as in and at the edge of the wādy itself (Plate II). Some such ancient tombs, like Tomb III, which stood well up on the hill, had been converted into dwellings at a later period. Others, presumably, still await excavation. There were also numerous rock cuttings and markings on the hill in which lay Tombs I and III, some of which may have been designed to indicate to the owners the location of their tombs and the like. But there was also another class of these cuttings which seemed to bear a more certain relation to the tombs occupying this hill, namely, cuttings of a rectangular character, intended to receive monuments. No other explanation seems to suit the peculiar appearance and shape of these cuttings, although there is no trace in any of them of the stones of the monuments which once may have stood there. Such monuments, as we know, were erected in Phœnicia, and the so-called tomb of Hiram, near Tyre, is of this character. Josephus also makes mention of several such monuments at Modin, for the Maccabees, and in and about Jerusalem, for Herod and others. The foundations of one of these monuments still exist to the west of Jerusalem across the valley of Hinnôm, and almost opposite the Jaffa gate, by the side of a very interesting tomb. Foundations of another such monument exist in the grounds of the new German hospice, just to the north of the Damascus Gate, near Gordon's Tomb.* As a rule, however, such monuments, being removable, have vanished entirely. It would seem from the cuttings on the hill near Tomb I, that such monuments were in use at some period in this necropolis of Marêshah.

3. *Paintings in Tombs.*—These tombs present one of the very few examples of painting in tombs found up to this period in Syria. Renan found at the *Ablûn* cavern in Sidon a few tombs the walls of which had been stuccoed and painted, but the painting was very simple in its character.† In Palestine

* *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 404.

† Cf. also Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Phœnicia*, I, p. 137 sq. A tomb recently discovered (1902) in Sidon, but not yet published, is of the same character.

itself only three graves with paintings have been found besides those described in this Memoir: one in the grounds of St. Stephen's College, in Bishop Blyth's grounds, to the north of Jerusalem, described in Bliss and Dickie's *Excavations at Jerusalem*, p. 244; one about half-a-mile to the east of Rachel's tomb, described by Macalister in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, July, 1902, p. 237; and one to the north of Beit Jibrin, opposite Tell Judeideh, described by Macalister in *Excavations in Palestine*, 1898-1902, p. 201, *sq.* The tomb last mentioned is quite different in type and construction from our tomb, although apparently of approximately the same period. In the corners, within, are painted peacocks and some wild bird resembling a raven. The use of birds as a decoration in connection with tombs, in sculpture or mosaic, is found in Palestine as late as the fifth or sixth century A.D. (compare the tombs at Shefâ 'Amr in Galilee, where, cut in the rock around the door, birds rest among trees and vines), but nowhere else do we find the cock and the eagle, as represented in our tombs.

Besides these three instances of actual tomb paintings there is also one case in which the walls of the tomb seem to have been prepared for paintings which were never executed, namely, "Marianne's tomb," at the Nicophorieh, near the monument described above, to the west of Jerusalem. Masonry is here used in connection with rock excavation, and the faults in the surfaces of the stones have been filled in, and the whole smoothed in a method usual only where the intention is to prepare the wall surface to receive a painting or an inscription.

The painting in none of these tombs can be compared in quantity or quality with that in Tombs I and II, which in this respect are comparable only with the Egyptian tomb-chambers.

4. *History of Marissa.*—It is evident to anyone studying the geography of Palestine, that the modern village of Beit Jibrin occupies a position of great strategical importance. This village is in fact to-day the most important place in the Shephêlah, and it is clear that at this site or in its immediate neighbourhood there must always have been a town of consequence, especially in those periods when the plain country was held by one people, and the hills by another. Beit Jibrin lies at the controlling point of the Wady el-Franj, which is the natural and practicable road from the Philistine plain to Hebron and the adjacent highlands of southern Judæa. Moreover, at Beit Jibrin this wady, which is thus the high road from Hebron to Gaza, is crossed by

another wādy, forming a natural road from north to south through the Shephélah.

The present town of Beit Jibrin played an important part in the Crusading period, under the name of Gibelin or Begibelinum.* Foulke of Anjou built a fortress here, which was entrusted to the Hospitallers. It was also an important city and the site of a bishopric in the Byzantine period; but its time of greatest prosperity was under Roman rule, especially after 200 A.D., at which date it was rebuilt by the Emperor Septimius Severus, and received the name Eleutheropolis. It was the central point from which distances were measured throughout all this country, and Roman roads may still be traced to the north, south, east and west, along which the milestones at places lie in groups of six to ten together. The first mention of the place which has hitherto been found is in Josephus' *Wars*, IV 8, 1, where in the present text, *Βητραβριον*, evidently to be corrected to *Βητρογαβριον* (in Ptolemy it appears as *Βαιτρογαβρα*), is clearly a compound of Gabra, found in Kauš-Gabr, the name of an Edomite king mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. It probably means "house of the hero," or "mighty one." This country, it must be remembered, was the Idumæa of the post-biblical period, and traces of ancient Edomite names may be expected here. The strategical importance of the place was recognized by Vespasian, as the passage in Josephus shows, and it was one of the places garrisoned by his troops. But while Beit Jibrin is thus favourably located for the control of the road from the coast to Hebron, its own position is not one of great natural strength, and from the practice of antiquity we should expect that the original city commanding this road lay not in the valley itself or on a low hill, like Beit Jibrin, but on some neighbouring height. In point of fact the city which played in ancient times the part which was played later by Beit Jibrin under its varying names, Beitogabra, Eleutheropolis, and Gibelin, was the ancient city of Marêshah, or Marissa, situated a mile to the south of Beit Jibrin, on the hill now known as Tell Sandaḥannah, after the church of that name (Plate II) The old name, thus dislodged from its proper abode, lingers in the neighbouring Khurbet Mer'ash.†

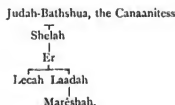
The earliest mention of this site is toward the close of the eighth century B.C., in Micah i, 14, 15, where the prophet threatens with punish-

* [A corruption of the Ar. (*beth*)-*gebrin*.]

† See Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 67.

ment by the Assyrians various cities of the Philistine plain and the Shephélah, including Marêshah, which is named between Achzib and Adullam. The received text in *v.* 14 reads Morêsheth-Gath; but the metrical requirements of the verse itself, and a comparison with the following verse, seem to show that the letters גח are due to a scribal error. They are, in fact, the first two letters of the following word, גח, repeated by accident, and then scratched out. Out of this erasure developed finally the unintelligible Gath. The Septuagint misunderstands both verses, reading instead of the name Marêshah, κληρονομίας and κληρονόμους respectively in the two verses. The superscription of this prophecy (*v.* 1) actually calls Micah a Morashtite, or inhabitant of Marêshah, as does also Jeremiah xxvi, 18, in entire agreement with the character and contents of his prophecy.

In the list of cities assigned to Judah in the so-called "Priestly Code" (*Josh.* xv, 44), Marêshah (omitted, however, in the best texts of the LXX) is mentioned among the cities of the Shephélah, coupled with Ké'llah and Achzib. The date commonly assigned to this document in its present form is 500 B.C., but it clearly depends on earlier documents. In the curious lists contained at the commencement of the book of Chronicles, where municipal and tribal connections are frequently given under the form of genealogies, we have two genealogies for Marêshah. In 1 Chronicles ii, 42 (corrected after LXX) Marêshah is the son of Caleb, brother of Jerahmeel, and the father of Ziph (*cf.* LXX), and apparently also of Hebron. In 1 Chronicles iv, especially in verse 21, we have this genealogical table, which, in part at least, is perhaps of later origin:—



These passages, particularly 1 Chronicles ii, 42, rest on older documents or traditions, and reflect the historical facts of the connection of Marêshah with Ziph, Hebron, and Caleb-Jerahmeel, as well as the union of Jew and Canaanite in the population of that region. It is somewhat surprising, however, to find that Marêshah is the ancestor of Hebron, and not the reverse.

In 2 Chronicles xi., 8, Marêshah is mentioned, between Gath and Ziph, as one of the cities fortified by Rehoboam. In 2 Chronicles xiv, 8 *sqq.*, a battle between Asa, king of Judah, and Zerah, the Ethiopian, takes place in the valley of Zephâthah, north of Marêshah. In 2 Chronicles xx., 37 it is mentioned as the home of Eliezer, son of Dodavahu, who prophesies against Jehoshaphat. Some, at least, of these statements of the Chronicler, such as the battle with Zerah the Ethiopian, are generally admitted to rest on earlier authority, but whatever may be thought of their historical value, it is at least clear that the place had been one of sufficient importance to make an impression on Jewish history and Jewish tradition during the times preceding the Exile, which impression is reflected in these various references in the book of Chronicles.

During the exile the Edomites, partly, perhaps, through the pressure of the Nabataeans from behind, entered southern Judah and occupied Hebron and the neighbouring Shephêlah, which region hence came to be known as Idumæa as early at least as 312 B.C., and Marissa became the capital or one of the capitals of that country. In the struggles following the death of Alexander, this region, presumably included in the province of Gaza, came first into the possession of the Seleucids. It was taken by the Ptolemies in 312, but lost again the same year. In the year 274 it was regained by the Egyptian sovereigns and remained in their hands until 218, when Antiochus the Great overran the country. His general, Scopas, was, however, disastrously defeated at Raphia in the following year, and the country once more reverted to Egypt.* It remained an Egyptian possession until the battle of Paneas in 198, when, with all Palestine, it came into the possession of Antiochus the Great. A little later, however, he gave it as a dower to his daughter, the wife of Ptolemy, and it again became tributary to the Egyptian kings, remaining in their possession until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, about 175 B.C. It was during this long period of Egyptian possession that the Sidonian colony, to which one at least of the tombs belonged, was settled at Marêshah by the Ptolemies, and the tombs themselves constructed. A great part of the Palestinian coast, including Dora, Straton's Tower (Cæsarea), and Joppa, was in the possession of the Sidonians, at an earlier period, from the close of the fifth century onward, as we already knew from the Eshmunazar

* Cf. the inscription supposed to have been erected at Marissa after this battle, *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 68.

inscription and other sources, but these tombs contain the first information of a Sidonian colony in the interior of the country.*

Of the history of Marissa in particular there is no further direct information until the time of the Maccabæan wars, when its position gave it considerable strategical importance. Idumæa was at that time in the possession of the Antiochians, and Marissa was its capital. So, in the second book of Maccabees (xii, 35), we find that Gorgias, the governor of Idumæa, when defeated by the Jews, takes refuge in Marissa. Idumæa played an important and apparently willing part in the Antiochian wars against the Jews, who were compelled to fortify Bethsura to protect themselves against attacks from that side. In 1 Maccabees, v, 66, it is stated that Judas passed through or by Marissa on an expedition against the land of the Philistines.† Out of this, apparently, has grown Josephus' statement that Marissa was burned by Judas. He evidently harried the country and did much damage, but the capture of the capital and the subjugation of the country by the Jews, fell at a later date, namely, in the time of John Hyrcanus. For this information we are indebted again to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII, 9, 1), who states that Hyrcanus took "Dora and Marissa, cities of Idumæa, and subdued all the Idumæans; and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would circumcise themselves, and make use of the laws of the Jews; and they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they submitted to the use of circumcision, and the rest of the Jewish ways of living, at which time, therefore, this befell them, that they were hereafter no other than Jews."

At what date this conquest and annexation took place is not altogether clear from Josephus' account; certainly, however, after 130 and before 108 B.C., probably nearer the latter than the former. The discovery by Dr. Bliss in the excavation of Marissa (Tell Sandahannah) of coins of John Hyrcanus‡ is in a general way a confirmation of Josephus' narrative. That this conquest was not complete, however, in the sense that the Idumæans at once gave up their religion altogether, and became an integral part of the Jewish

* This fact throws new light upon the important remark of Scylax which Hölcher has recently rightly emphasized (*Palästina in der persischen u. hellenistischen Zeit*, Berlin, 1903, p. 15), that the Phœnician settlement in S. Palestine must have been very strong, that Ashkelon itself was a Phœnician harbour, and that the Phœnicians here were the political heirs of the vanished Philistines.—H. Th.

† In the received text Samaria is erroneously written for Marissa.

‡ *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 68.

State, as might be inferred from Josephus' statement, is clear from the sequel. More than half a century later they still craved independence, which was, accordingly, restored to them by Pompey in 63 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* XIV, 4, 4). Marissa is mentioned among the cities which had been demolished, and rebuilt by Gabinius in the following year (*Ant.* XIV, 5, 3), from which it would seem probable that the fortifications had been dismantled at the time of its capture by John Hyrcanus, and that it had since remained in whole or in part an open town, which must have involved a considerable decrease in its size and importance. Shortly afterwards Idumæa was again annexed to Judæa by Cæsar, who appointed Hyrcanus high priest, and his chancellor, Antipater the Idumæan, procurator of Judæa (XIV, 8, 5 and 10, 6); and later, when Antigonus, with the help of the Parthians, drove Herod, Antipater's famous son, from Jerusalem, Idumæa and its capital, Marissa, became the special stronghold of the latter, in which, as the home country, he was sure of loyal support (*Ant.* XIV, 13, 9). It was on this account that at that time, 40 B.C., Marissa was captured and destroyed by the Parthians (*ib.*).

That the Idumæans had not at this period altogether abandoned their own religion, or at least their inclination towards it, is evident from the intrigue of Kostobaros with Cleopatra, reported by Josephus (*Ant.* XV, 7, 9). The ancestors of Kostobaros had been priests of the god Koze, and his family was one of consequence in Idumæa. Herod made him governor of Idumæa and Gaza, and gave him his sister Salome to wife. Afterwards he became puffed up and unwilling to be subject to Herod. He did not think "that the Idumæans should make use of the Jewish customs, or be subject to them. He therefore sent to Cleopatra, and informed her that the Idumæans had been always under his [her] progenitors," and advised her on that ground to "desire that country of Anthony." In the following century, however, at the time of the Jewish war, the Idumæans had become an integral portion of the Jewish nation. They took an active part in the rebellion against the Romans, and their chiefs bear characteristic Jewish names, such as Jacob, Simon, and Phinehas. Josephus speaks frequently, it is true, of Idumæa and the Idumæans in his *Wars*, but no longer as a separate people, and only as a part or province of the whole Jewish nation, precisely as he speaks of Galilee and the Galileans.

The last mention of Marissa is that just cited, the notice of its destruction by the Parthians in 40 B.C. When this region reappears in history, as already stated, in 68 A.D., Beitogabra had become its stronghold, and Marêshah is no

longer mentioned. Somewhere between those dates Marissa seems to have passed definitely out of existence, and the population either transferred itself or had been transferred to Beitogabra.* The site was still known in the fourth century A.D., but at that time Eusebius says it was a desert, while Jerome in his *Onomasticon* describes it as a ruin "in the second stone of Eleutheropolis."

5. *Testimony of the Tombs.*—Some reflections of this history we see in the tombs. Tombs I and II were clearly constructed under Egyptian influence, and the Sidonian colony to which Tomb I. belonged must have been planted in Marissa while both this region and Phœnicia were under the full sway of the Ptolemies. It would seem, further, that such colonization must have taken place at a time when Sidon, also, was subject to Egypt. For Marissa, this condition would have been fulfilled any time between 274 and 198 B.C.; for Sidon, during the greater part of the same period. The script of the inscription of Apollophanes, which appears to be the oldest in the tombs, would indicate, as pointed out elsewhere, a date in the third century B.C. He was for thirty-three years, according to this inscription, head of the Sidonian colony in Marissa. It is evident from the script of the earliest dated inscriptions in this tomb, that a considerable period must have elapsed between the burial of Apollophanes and those burials. The earliest of the dated inscriptions is possibly 196 B.C., but more probably, I think, 153 B.C. All the indications point, as already suggested, to a period somewhere in the second half of the third century B.C. for the establishment of the Phœnician colony and the construction of the tombs. It is evident from the inscriptions found by Bliss at Marissa (*Excavations in Palestine*, Chapter VI), that the town was of considerable importance in the eyes of the Ptolemies, and was in its palmy days in the second half of that century. After the battle of Raphia (217 B.C.) it appears to have been visited by Ptolemy IV, Philopator, and his wife Arsinoë, and a statue of the latter was erected there. We may, also, I believe, assume that the Phœnician colony was in a condition of prosperity at this period. The dated inscriptions of the next century belong to a time when that colony, or at least the descendants of its chief, Apollophanes, seem no longer to have possessed the same wealth or culture as in the earlier days, at the time of the construction of the tomb and the burial of Apollophanes.

* Cf. coins found in Marissa by Bliss (*Excavations in Palestine*, p. 68), of John Hyrcanus, 25; various Seleucidian kings, 19; various Ptolemies, 13; one Herodian (showing that the town still continued to exist after 40 B.C.); and two Greek and one Roman of uncertain date.

The genealogy of the family of the founder of this tomb is interesting, as exhibiting the history of the colony, and the probable history of similar colonies in other places, which, commencing with a relatively high degree of culture, ultimately descended to a much lower level, and at the same time intermarried and united with the natives of the country. In the third generation from Sesmaios, the father of Apollophanes, we find in one line of descent the Edomite name Kosnatanos, whilst a descendant of Kosnatanos, Babas, bears, as is pointed out below (p. 45), a name well known in Jewish history at and a little before the time of Herod. It is worthy of note, also, that in the date of one of the latest graves in this tomb, that of Babatas, and also probably in the grave of Antagoras, 119 B.C., the names of the months are no longer Macedonian.* We have in the former the Semitic month name Ab, and in the latter, perhaps, Elul. This would indicate a restoration of Semitic influence or domination such as we should naturally expect after the conquest by John Hyrcanus and the annexation of Idumæa to Judæa. It is also to be noticed that at this period we meet likewise with a Hebrew name, Babas.

We have, then, in the inscriptions of Tomb I a fair correspondence with the events of history as known from other sources. The tomb was built at a period of prosperity and importance of the city, under Egyptian rule, at the end of the third century B.C. It belonged to the family of a head-man in a Sidonian colony settled at this place, it seems, by the Ptolemies. After the conquest of this region by the Seleucids in 193 B.C., the colony, with the city, lost its importance, and receded in culture, apparently becoming one with the provincial Idumæan population of the town. This condition of retrogression becomes most marked in the last period represented by the dates in the tomb, which corresponds apparently with the time of the conquest by John Hyrcanus, when Marissa seems to have lost much of its importance, and was perhaps dismantled as a fortress. The inscriptions of this period are altogether barbarous in their execution, and, while the Greek alphabet still continues to be used, we find the people again thinking as Semites, so that the names of the months are a mere transliteration of the old Semitic names in Greek letters.

Tomb II seems to have been constructed a little later than Tomb I, but

* See Chapter III, inscriptions Nos. 11, 19 (pp. 45 sq., 49 sq.).

under the same Egyptian influence, during a period of prosperity of the town and colony, to which latter it seems clearly to have belonged, though the earliest burials appear to occur after the Syrian conquest. So the inscriptions in this tomb belong, not to the earliest, but the second period of Tomb I.

Tomb IV, if we can rely upon the date 170, that is, 143 B.C., which seems to occur in Inscription No. 2, dates in general from the same time as the middle period of burials in Tomb I. It evidently, however, did not belong to the Sidonian colony; and here we seem to observe, outside of the script of the inscriptions, which is Greek, the dominance of the native Semitic element. The names are many of them familiar among the Jews, while the month names used are Semitic.

J. P. P.

CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMBS.

TOMB I—GENERAL FORM—THE DOOR—THE MAIN CHAMBER—THE ANIMAL FRIEZE—TOMB II—THE PAINTINGS—TOMBS III AND IV.

TOMB I. 1. *General form.*—The original entrance to this tomb is so filled up that its form cannot be certainly determined without excavation. It seems to have been a *dromos* with steps. Through a doorway and passage cut in the face of the rock steps descended to the door of the tomb. This passage was open to the sky, except for an overhanging ledge above the door of the tomb. Above the flat arch of this door and extending over both sides of it is a three-lined Greek inscription, partly covered with débris, and quite illegible (see No. 35, p. 61). The door is filled almost to the top by fallen earth and stones, and the visitor at the present time must crawl through a small hole, and then slide down a pile of rubbish, in order to enter the tomb.

This done, he will find himself in a middle or ante-chamber A, approximately square, from which radiate, like the arms of a cross, the three large oblong chambers of the tomb, B and C on the sides, north and south respectively, and D lengthwise, to the east, with a niche-like extension, E, beyond. The loculi—frequently designated in works on Palestine by the late Hebrew word *kókim*—are cut in the walls of all three chambers, B, C, and D, and in front of them runs everywhere a bench. The mausoleum contains in all 44 burial places, namely 41 loculi (1 in A, 14 in B, 13 in C, and 13 in D), besides three large sarcophagus chambers in E. The ground plan (on the following page) shows best how the space has been utilized.

In the antechamber A the roof is flat and only roughed with the pick. The side chambers, B and C, are somewhat irregularly arched in barrel

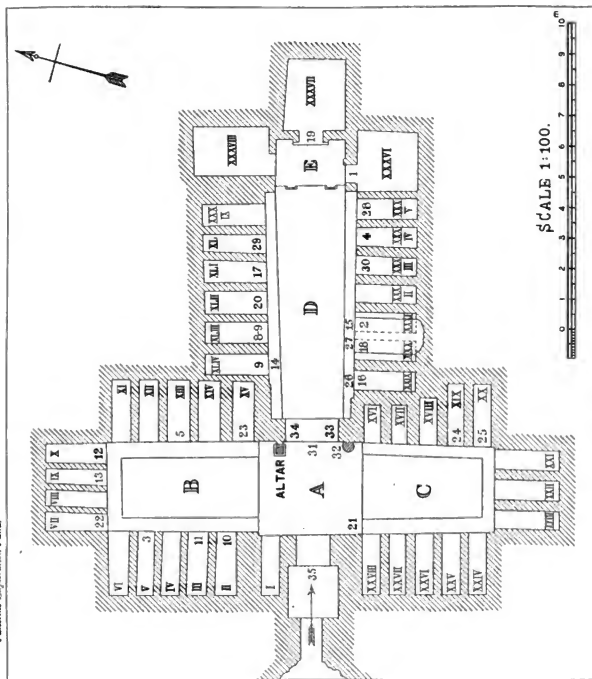
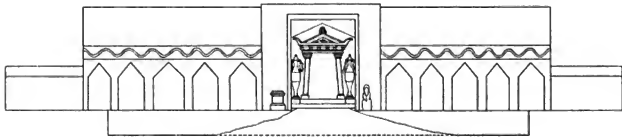
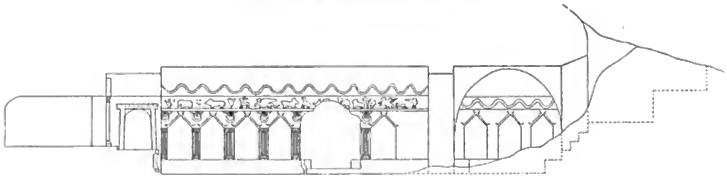


FIG. 1.—GROUND PLAN OF TOMB I.

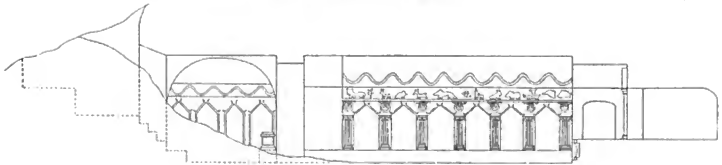
fashion. All surfaces are roughed down to the loculi line. Over the loculi and beneath the spring of the arch runs a broad frieze, ornamented with a large undulating band, representing a wreath festooned, the flowers and



TOMB I—Through Chambers B and C, looking East.



TOMB I—Through E D A, looking South.



TOMB I—Through A D E, looking North.

Fig. 2.—SECTIONS OF TOMB I.

leaves indicated by red and black dabs. The loculi are of the same form and approximately the same size (140 cm. high, 72 cm. broad, and 240 cm. long), with the exception of loculi XVI and XVII in C. Of these the former was

E

limited to 112 cm. to avoid interference with the adjoining loculus of D; the latter, which is a few centimètres longer, does actually connect in the rear with that loculus. Around the outer rim of each loculus is painted a narrow reddish-brown strip, while the wall spaces between are painted to represent fluted Ionic pilasters, on which the corners of the loculi gables appear to rest. The bases of the pilasters are reddish-brown, the rest is carried out in a dark gray, with the exception of a yellow rosette with a red star between the volutes of the capitals. In the spaces above the capitals are painted olive wreaths with black streamers. In B the great wreath is always outlined in the stone, and the smaller incised lines indicate the dangling ribbon ends, but this is not always the case in C. Evidently the two rooms were meant to be alike, but in the execution some differences crept in, as may be seen also by a comparison of the ground plan. C was in fact completed after B and D, and seems to have remained in some respects unfinished and imperfect.

2. *The Door.*—A broad, flat-linteled door-way, slightly narrower at the top than at the bottom, leads directly to the main hall, D. The door is framed by a smooth margin, enclosed within a fine incised line. In this margin is painted, in the same manner as over the loculi in B and C, but in smaller size, a wreath, festooned above the door, hanging down straight on the sides. Outside this frame or margin, on the smoothed wall surfaces on each side, a cock is painted at about eye level. Each bird is represented striding away from the door, but with his head turned backward toward the entrance (Plate IV).^{*} They are boldly sketched in black lines, with the comb, wattles, tail-feathers and ground-line painted red; the tail, especially, is very gaudy, with its abundance of bright red feathers. (The olive wreath with the streamers, seen in the plate, was added later, and belongs to the inscription beneath.)

Below, the door is flanked by work in relief, not, however, detached pieces as one would expect, but, like everything else in this mausoleum, cut out of the living rock. This is shown by the small bridge-like piece of stone which connects each carving with the wall behind. Evidently, for the purpose of ensuring greater permanence, the pieces were not to be moveable. Unfortunately both were mutilated by fanatical hands at the recent discovery of the tomb. This is the more to be regretted, as both were not only

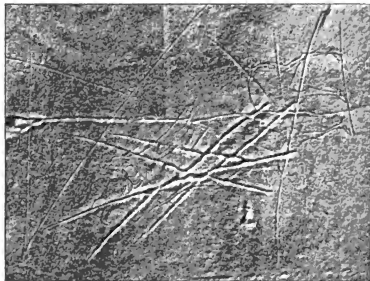
^{*} Crowing, as rightly described by Lagrange in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie*, 1902, p. 497.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

PLATE III.



GRAFFITO OF ALTAR AND BUST ON THE
DOOR-JAMB OF TOMB I.



GRAFFITO OF EAGLE AND DEER.

noteworthy in style, but had also a special religious significance. That on the left was a small square altar, standing on the very end of the wall-bench, which was here continued almost to the doorway. The outline is simple and strong, with a plain double rim above, and a flat top. Although broken, all the parts still exist and may be pieced together. The piece on the right-hand side of the doorway is still more interesting. On a low, square plinth stands a four-cornered terminus-like shaft, the axis slightly turned towards the centre of the room, from which rose, apparently, something of the nature of a human bust. Vertical rolls are recognizable, resembling the folds of the cloth and the cord of an Egyptian head-dress. In the neighbouring débris we found about half a dozen fragments, principally representing vertical folds of some garments, with abundant traces of a red or pinkish paint, but not enough to enable us to restore the object in question.

Within the doorway, on the broad flat jambs, a number of graffiti have been scratched. On the left, close to the altar above described, there is a representation of a similar altar, with four steps below and a double rim above. On this stands a flat spreading dish or bowl, out of which rises on the left side smoke or flame. Above, on the right hand, there is a rude human bust, turned towards the smoke or flame (Plate III). A little to the right of this, barely distinguishable because of later, deeper scratches, stands an eagle-like bird with drooping wings and long legs, below which is visible a creature like a stag, with one fore-leg raised, as though in the act of walking. The head of this creature, which would be behind the legs of the eagle, is wanting, apparently destroyed by the later scratchings. It is not clear whether the eagle is seizing the stag in its talons, or whether both are separate designs, juxtaposed by chance (Plate III). Further to the right is the prow of a ship. Lower down is repeated several times the double, interlaced triangle (fig. 3). There is also a brief, two-lined inscription, very faintly cut, on this door jamb (No. 34, p. 60).

On the right hand jamb, above, is a finely executed graffito in four lines (No. 33, p. 56), and below this are cut very faintly a male head, in profile, turned to the left, and a female head, front view, with long, loose hair. Immediately above the Kerberos, described below, is the graffito of a curious, perhaps phallic, object; while outside the door on the lintel occurs a curious geometrical figure, rudely scratched (fig. 4).



Fig. 3.

These graffiti are of secondary importance, however, in comparison with the three-headed Kerberos on the right hand jamb, which, like the ethnonic cocks, belongs to the original colour scheme of the tomb (Plate IV). Kerberos is represented in profile, stepping into the interior of the tomb, the right fore-foot raised, two of his heads turned back. His type is that of the long-haired, jackal-like dogs of the country, with pointed ears and long tail. About each neck is a black collar. The outlines are executed throughout in dull black lines, and there is a dark ground line beneath.



Fig. 4.

3. *The Main Chamber.*—The main chamber, D, into which we now enter, is not quite rectangular, being broader at the eastern end than at the western (3·12 m. and 2·59 m. respectively). It has an irregular flat roof, which, like the upper part of the side and entrance walls, is rough picked. The arrangement of the walls is in general the same as in B and C, with the large festooned wreath, the loculi and the bench in front; but, in addition, the special ornament of this room, a broad, carefully smoothed frieze, with a long row of painted animals, extends beneath the wreath, over the loculi, along both sides. The decorative treatment of the row of loculi by means of painting is the same as in B and C, but better preserved. The abaci of the capitals are yellowish in tone. The wreaths above have been marked out with compasses, the circles being doubled below by the use of a second centre. The general effect of this chamber is disturbed by the way in which, at a later time, two loculi on the southern side (there were originally seven) were united to form one large niche, the height and depth of which were increased at the same time. In order not to conflict with the first loculus in B (No. XV), the row of loculi on the north side of D is not carried up to the entrance wall. Even thus the wall between No. XLIV in D and No. XV in B is very thin, and there is at one point a small break. The animal frieze on the north side stops with the last loculus, 1·37 cm. from the entrance wall. On the right, or south side, on the other hand, the animal frieze commences in the very corner, and the loculi also extend further toward the entrance, so that the first three loculi in C are curtailed by them, as already stated. Indeed, it was evidently the original intention to carry the loculi on this side up to the line of the entrance, and the outlines of a loculus drawn in red are still visible between the first loculus on

this side and the entrance wall. It would appear that in the original plan C was to have been a chamber similar to C in Tomb II. In the execution the plan was changed.

At its rear, or eastern end, the main chamber, D, opens out into a large rectangular recess, which has the same gabled roof as the loculi. The entire ground area of this niche is occupied by a large funereal-couch, hewn out of the rock, a genuine κλίνη (see the Frontispiece). The upper surface of this projects as a square ledge, to which are attached two similar legs in relief, broader above than below, but with a spreading base. The narrow wall surfaces right and left of the broad opening of this niche, as well as those in the angles above, are richly painted. The wreath of the upper frieze in D is continued on the east wall and follows the line of the gable. Upon the festoons on either side of this swing two boldly drawn eagles, with outspread wings. Their outlines are drawn in black, and they are painted in a brilliant red. Each faces inwards toward the other, but their positions and attitudes are not quite symmetrical. The heraldic character of these birds seems unmistakable. On the narrow wall-surface beneath the left hand eagle sacred vessels are represented. On a red podium stands a circular tripod with lion's feet, bright yellow, on a white base, representing evidently gold or gilt on marble. On this table stands a vase-shaped vessel, with a spreading base, to which are attached three separate feet in the form of griffin busts. Round the middle of the vase runs a wide, projecting leaf ornament, beneath which, in place of handles, hang two loops of thin cords. Zig-zag red rays indicating fire come out of the mouth of the vessel. The vessel itself is white, with black outlines, evidently intended to represent silver. The form of the corresponding vessel on the right hand side was still more artistic. Unfortunately, however, the wall on that side is too badly broken to render an exact picture possible. It seems to have been a rounded vase with graceful amphora handles. On the base, which resembles an inverted cup, the head, neck, and forelegs of an animal, as if in plastic ornament, can be recognized. Above are the zig-zag red rays of flame. The part of the wall containing the stand on which this vessel rested has been entirely destroyed.

From the niche E open three sarcophagus chambers, evidently intended for the chief members of the family. These all have plain rough walls, and flat or almost flat ceilings, sinking somewhat towards the rear. The importance of the chief grave, in the centre, is shown by the treatment of its portal-like

entrance (Plate V). The doorway itself has the customary slight tapering upwards. It is enclosed by two pilasters in low relief, standing on a separate sill, and supporting a rather steep pediment on a Doric entablature. The capitals consist of simple abaci over a large chamfered member. On the upper part of the shaft is painted a red disk, containing a black sexfoil. The architrave and the lower part of the shaft are also painted red. (At a later period the latter was defaced by a carelessly cut inscription, No. 19, p. 49.) In the frieze above, the broad compressed shape of the metopæ is noteworthy. The triglyph bands are triple; only very faint traces of their original blue colour remain. Above these is a cornice, with overhanging ends. The oblique edge of the pediment, with its long acroteria, is painted dark red. The centre of the tympanum has a palmetto ornament, outlined in black, at the sides of and beneath which are vine scrolls with spiral tendrils and blossoms, also coloured black.

On either side of this door is painted a large amphora, with long fillets tied to the handles. Everything about these is Greek; the slender form of the vases, their decoration, the form of the covers, with the graceful knob on top, and the shape of the fillets with the cord ends fluttering below. The colouring differs curiously on the two sides of the door. On the left the cover is red, the fillets pink, the central band of the vase is red; on the right the cover is white, the fillets red, the band pink. Even the wall painting behind the vases differs somewhat, the light red colour of the background extending on the right-hand side as far up as the cover, and on the left only to the neck of the vase. Both of the vases stand on red plinths. The foot of that on the left hand is plain, and that of the right-hand vase is ornamented by a raised rim. The incised sketch line of both vases can be seen in most places, but in the execution the painter seems to have paid little attention to the outline which he had sketched.

The doors of the two side chambers of E, opening to north and south respectively, are much more simply designed. The frame of the door of the left-hand or northern chamber was designed, but never completed. It was intended to have the same form as its counterpart on the right, a simple quite plain margin, and a transom above with slightly projecting ends. In some later re-arrangement the frame of the door of the southern chamber was rudely broken through, something of the same kind having occurred in the left-hand chamber also, and a large, unsightly opening was formed, rounded above, as it now remains. At the same time, and in the same way, the beautifully cut

inscription on the transom above the door-frame was injured. It is this inscription which informs us that Apollophanes, the head of the Sidonian colony at Marissa, was buried in this chamber (No. 1, p. 38).

4. *Animal Frieze*.—The chief decoration of the tomb is the animal frieze, already mentioned, in chamber D. It commences in the south-west corner, and ends near the opposite north-west corner. The first scene represents the chase, and the first figure is a man blowing a long straight trumpet (Plate VI). He is stepping forward, and presses his left hand, wrapped in his mantle, against his hip. Beneath his mantle, which is fastened on his right shoulder and reaches down behind almost to the knees, he wears a short-sleeved tunic, girded about the waist, leaving the knees and lower legs bare. Unfortunately the face, like all the other faces in these tombs, was scratched out at the time of their discovery, as already narrated, by the fanaticism of the Sheikh of Beit Jibrin, who declared that they were *haram*, forbidden by Moslem law. The hair is fastened with a wreath, whose red streamers, with long cord ends, flutter freely behind the neck and back. On the feet are sandals, with narrow white ribbons wound around the ankles, and fastened about the middle of the calf by red cords, whose ends hang down in front. All uncovered parts of the body are painted flesh-tint; the folds of the garments, as also the outlines of the figure, are traced in blackish lines. Above the head is painted in the same colour a title which is no longer legible. That it read **ΣΑΛΠΙΓΚΤΗΣ** is probable, but not certain.

Next follows a hunter on horseback. He is galloping on an admirably drawn gray horse, and brandishes a long lance against a she-leopard. The latter, already wounded in the breast by a dart, rears on her hind legs to meet his charge. Beneath the horse runs a hound of the same lank, sharp-eared species as the Kerberos. A second dog seizes the leopard from behind by the tail. Both rider and hounds are too small in proportion to the horse. The rider's face has been scratched out. His dress is much like that of his attendant: a short tunic with red girdle, and above, a white cloak, which the wind blows out behind: dark red, tight-fitting breeches, and on his feet sandals like those already described. The large, square saddle cloth is richly ornamented with a yellow, embroidered centre, enclosed by several borders, marked out in a vine and wreath pattern, indented on the inner edge, all in blackish lines on a white ground. The front edge of the cloth is furnished with a row of short rays, while the hinder edge is relieved by a

large step-formed border. The head-gear, bridle, and breast strap are painted dark red. Above the head of the rider stands the word **ΙΠΠΟΣ** (horse). Following this, in larger and blacker characters, both incised and painted, and apparently written by another hand, is the word **ΛΙΒΑΝΟΥ** (of Lebanon). Beneath these two, written in the same script as the first, stand the words **ΤΟΥ ΙΠΠΙΚΟΥ** (of the horseman). The leopard is very well drawn, and its skin is plashed with black and red spots. The dog biting it from behind has long pointed ears, like the dog beneath the horse and the Kerberos mentioned above, and has a collar about its neck. A quantity of blood from the wound in the leopard's breast streams down to the ground and forms a red pool. Some tracings above the ground line seem intended to represent vegetation. Above the leopard's head is written the title **ΠΑΡΔΑΛΟΣ** (pard). A tree, painted black, closes this group towards the left. The leaves and branches of the tree to some extent resemble palm fronds, but the knotty trunk seems to show that no palm was intended.

Next follow a number of animals one after another with no apparent system of grouping. The first of these would be unquestionably taken for a lion, did there not stand above it a well-preserved title **ΠΑΝΘΗΡΟΣ**, "panther" (Plate VII). The splendid beast is represented in full profile, slowly striding towards the left. The skin is painted red, but the abundant mane is blackish, owing to the dark lines with which the separate divisions of the hair are outlined. The ground line rises somewhat under the panther, and toward the left in front of him, perhaps intended to indicate a hill.

Through the barbarous enlargement of two of the loculi described above, a section of the frieze has been so injured that it is no longer possible to determine the character of the next animal or animals. A long, thin, sweeping tail, of a distinctly feline type, and a small part of the hind-quarters, both painted yellow, are visible. By careful removal of some of the clay mortar, with which in closing this niche with stones its top and edges had been plastered, we were able faintly to trace the back and head line for some distance, but were ultimately uncertain whether it was the outline of one animal or more. The length was longer than that of the panther, and the back line higher; but the latter may have been due to the rise in the ground line noted above.

The next figure or rather group has, like the preceding, suffered injury in the above-mentioned enlargement of loculi, and all its details are not

distinctly visible. A mighty bull, which seems to have been descending a hill, has fallen to its knees, and blood is gushing from its mouth or nostrils. In front of it is coiled a great serpent, which appears to have just buried its fangs in the head or breast of the bull. Above the bull is a title, not altogether legible, apparently **ΤΑΥΡΟΣ**.*

In contrast to this agonized death-struggle is the serene and peaceful attitude of the next animal, a creature which the painter had probably never seen in his life. It is evidently intended for a giraffe. The neck is very long, but the head, with its great rounded ears and large, prominent eye, is much too big. The hind quarters and tail are those of the deer, the fore-legs are as long as the hind-legs, and the withers actually lower than the rump. The spotted skin is represented by little black and red spots. The title above it seems to read : **ΚΑΜΕΛΟΠΑΡΔΑΛΟΣ** (Plate VIII).

Toward this peaceful creature a boar, with stiffly-planted fore-legs, like a hound that has brought its chase to bay, presents a defiant front. He is painted a greyish colour, with red streaks here and there. The title seems to have been smeared over and covered up by a later rude funereal inscription.

Next follows a fabulous animal, a griffin, admirably designed. It is striding proudly forward, with the right fore-paw uplifted. The fierce head, with its long ear-feathers and curved beak, is that of the eagle, as are the great, spreading pinions, which are emphasised by an abundant use of red. In its drawing the griffin is the best of all the animal figures. Over it, well preserved, stands the title : **ΓΡΥΨ** (Plate IX).

The next animal is of the deer tribe, resembling an ibex, with great curved horns, and extraordinarily long ears, turned straight backward. The position of the fore-legs, outstretched, like those of the boar, makes it seem as though it had been startled. The body has been drawn disproportionately long. In the original design, the outline of which was lightly cut in the rock before painting, the shape was slightly different. Behind and above the present rump and tail another rump and tail are marked, and a third hind-leg is similarly traceable. (It may be added that in several other cases the painter has failed to follow the original outline traced in the rock.) A spotted skin is indicated by a few red dabs. Above is written the title **ΟΡΥΞ** (oryx). A

* The inscription as it actually appears is **ΑΥΚΟ**. For the above suggestion I am indebted to Prof. J. R. Wheeler, of Columbia University, New York.—J.P.P.

black tree, with knotty trunk and frond-like branches, the same as that preceding, closes this division.

The last section on this side consists of two very large, exotic animals, of which the first is a bulky rhinoceros (Plate X). The huge head, with the small, round eyes set much too low down, produces a comical rather than a terrible impression. There are two horns, a large one on the very tip of the snout, and a very small curved one directly above it. The body is curiously painted a red brown, but the folds on the hide of the thick-skinned beast are ingeniously brought up by scraping out narrow curved strips. Above its back, quite uninjured, stands the title ΠΙΝΟΚΕΡΩΣ.

The second of these creatures, the elephant, which is represented of the same size as the rhinoceros, is faultlessly painted a grayish black. The inner side of the huge ear, which is turned outward, is almost white, and the lip red. The trunk is represented as creased in rings by the same method of scraping used in the rhinoceros. On its back, fastened by a cord passing under its tail, is a large white cloth, with two borders about the edge. The inscription ΕΛΕΦΑΝΣ over the back is well preserved.

Before the elephant stands a negro, evidently the keeper of the elephant, almost entirely cut away by the fanatical Sheikh or his men. There are visible only his black hand and forearm outstretched towards the elephant's tusks, and the butt end and the blade of a broad-edged, long-handled axe, which he carried over his shoulder. On the side away from the elephant, outlines scratched in the stone suggest that the original design contemplated a figure with flowing robes, possibly female, represented in full face. Was it on this account that the title above reads ΑΙΘΙΟΠΙΑ, or does the name of the country indicate this negro as a sort of representation or personification of central Africa?

This ends the frieze on the right side of the chamber. The continuation on the opposite side commences at the east with a singular fish group: two large but short creatures, a sort of globe-fish, turn their thick heads towards one another (Plate XI). The head of the first is provided with tusks and a trunk, like an elephant. The other, which is much larger, has a tapir-like snout at the end of his huge skull. The fins of both fishes, especially at the tails, resemble tufts of feathers. The opalescence of the scales is indicated by red, yellow and black strokes and dots. To these two conical monsters, evidently drawn from fancy rather than from fact, the artist ventured to ascribe no name. It will be observed that in position the fish with tusks and

trunk corresponds to the elephant, the huge-skulled tapir-snouted fish corresponding to the rhinoceros.*

The next creature, a crocodile, squats on the ground, with the head slightly raised, and the huge jaws slowly opening, appearing to the spectator as though weighed down by the burden of a large tomb inscription added by later hands. It is yellowish in colour. Above its head stands the title **ΚΡΟΚΟΔΙΛΟC** (Plate XII). On its back, hardly to be distinguished between the great letters of the above-mentioned later inscription, an **IBIC** (ibis) stands on one leg, the other being outstretched behind.

Then follows a well-known representative of the Egyptian fauna, a hippopotamus, with enormous head, and small, cunning eyes. The corpulent body, and the short thick legs correspond to the reality; not so, however, the colour of the hide, which is painted in red and yellow stripes. We sought in vain for any traces of a title above this animal.

Then follows another scene of conflict. A wild ass, its hind legs doubled beneath it, strikes with its fore feet a serpent, and at the same time rends it with its mouth, very much as the pig is known to do. Red blood flows from the wounded serpent, which writhes in agony, and darts out its tongue. The snake is white, with black spots of colour. The body of the ass is yellowish, with coloured stripes. It has a short, bristling mane, and large, erect ears, with long, pointed hairs. Over its back is written **ΟΝΑΓΡΙΟC** (Plate XIII).

We are unable to identify with certainty the next animal, which resembles a lynx. Between the erected ears is a high tuft of straight hairs. The nose and upper jaw project to a blunt point. The legs, especially the fore-legs, are too short for the length of body. The tail is short and curves upward. The skin is yellowish. As if startled, it halts, with the fore-legs stretched stiffly forward, its head, with large bright eyes, turned backward. The title is not clearly legible.†

For the next animal also we know no name. The large horn on its snout assigns it to the class of Nasicornia, while the whole upper part of the

* This correspondence is evidently intentional, although the group is not separated and framed into a special picture by a tree, as in the case of the elephant and rhinoceros, and the fish themselves seem to be drawn on the theory that there were in the water creatures corresponding to those on the land, and therefore elephant and rhinoceros fishes.—J. P. P.

† It seems to read **ΙΥΙ·Α**. Can this be **ΑΥΚΟC** wolf?

body, the relatively slender trunk, and the long thin tail resemble rather the tapir. The remains of the inscription read .ΛΟΦ...*

Facing the last described animal, and moving towards him from the left, is an unmistakable porcupine, admirably drawn. The legs are black, and the long quills speckled red and black. Above, quite easily legible, stands: **ΥCΤΠΙΞ** (Plate XIV).

The lynx, further to the left, is also well executed, with large eyes, very long, tufted ears, and a ruff of hair about the throat. The title is quite plain **ΛΥΝΞ**.

A creature as quaint as it is puzzling closes the frieze. It has a certain resemblance to the lion of the Persian coat of arms (Plate XV). The body, in profile, is that of the lion, with the characteristic lion's tail turned over the back. The head, which is turned full face towards the beholder has a distinctly human appearance, like an Achelous mask, with a long beard. The skin is marked with yellow, red and black. Only the first and last letters of the inscription, **H** and **C**, are legible. Beneath his feet is a stand or ground line. In front of him, framing him as it were, is a slender, almost reed-like plant, of a faint grayish colour; and behind him one sees some traces of another similar plant. The tree-frame makes this figure symmetrical in a way with the hunting group on the opposite wall, but this correspondence of plan between the two sides is not carried out systematically. As already stated, the frieze on the south side commences in the very corner; on the north side it terminates over the first loculus, 1.37 metres from the corner.

It is worthy of notice that, while there is a carefully drawn ground line beneath all the animals on the right side of the room, and a division by the use of trees into something resembling groups, this is less clearly marked on the left side, except in the case of the lion-like creature just described. There is also a considerable difference in execution in other respects between the friezes on the two sides of the chamber. The animals on the left side are on the whole not so well drawn or so carefully executed as those on the right, not so much colour is used, and in some cases the animal is only outlined, or little more. In design as well as in execution this side is also inferior to the other. In general on both sides the individual animals are drawn each on its own scale, quite without regard to its neighbours, so that the rhinoceros is as large as the elephant, and the porcupine as the hippopotamus.

* Perhaps something like *ἰλαφάγων*, wood-eating?—J. P. P.

TOMB II. *General form.*—Not far south of the tomb just described, on the other side of a little valley descending from the east, precisely on the opposite corner of the hill, lies a second rock-hewn tomb of a similar type. It belongs in all probability to the same period, only a little later. The ground plan is a variant of the preceding (fig. 5). The two side chambers, especially C, which is reduced to a simple, small, almost square room, are less developed. In B, the loculi at the end have been cut out at a later date to make an entrance into another later tomb at a lower level to the north, but their gabled tops and part of the upper wall still remain.* On the eastern side there is a small arcosolium-like receptacle which has been so broken on the sides and at the back that its original shape is indeterminable. Two loculi of ordinary size and shape were designed to occupy the remainder of the space on this side, but in execution the two became one large loculus of irregular shape as at present (vii). The irregular form of the loculi on the western side of B is also noteworthy. The lack of ornamentation in B and C, and the irregularity of construction of the latter, suggest that they were added later, and that originally the shape of this tomb was more closely like Tombs III and IV. It is noteworthy also that the walls of B and C are not plastered.

The main chamber, D, is enlarged at the eastern end to a sort of transept, opening from each side of which are two sarcophagus chambers, with three more in the end wall, the central one much larger than the others. The loculi all have the same gabled form as before, and a low bench also runs around in front of them, destroyed at a later time, however, in half of the right side of D, and the greater part of E, and now almost concealed by the rock fragments which have fallen from the roof. This mausoleum contains 25 burial places in all: 8 loculi in B, 10 in D, with 7 sarcophagus chambers in E, besides the chamber C. The colour decoration of this mausoleum is simpler than that of the preceding, but artistically better. The colours are no longer applied directly to the smoothed wall surface, but are carefully laid on a coat of stucco.

The original entrance is still more filled up than in the case of Tomb I, and we could only make our way in through a hole broken into the side of the last loculus on the west side of B (iii) from a straight shaft sunk by the grave robbers. From B an entrance had been broken into D through the first loculus on the east side of B (viii). Later a small hole had been sunk

* Our plan shows only the original state.

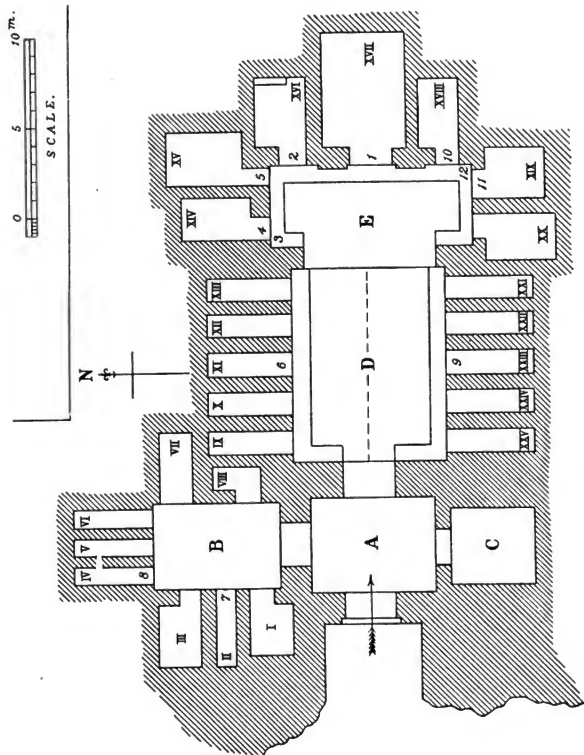
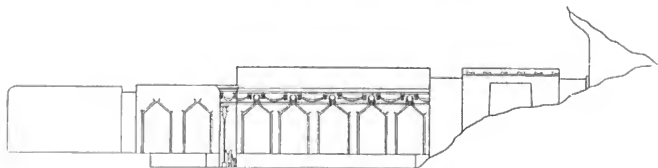


Fig. 5.—GROUND PLAN OF TOMB II.

in front of the entrance door, in which may still be seen, painted on stucco on both sides of the doorway, in a free and natural style, palm branches with fruit clusters.

In the square ante-chamber, A, a narrow, painted frieze runs around near the roof. Over a slender leaf stalk, the leaf points of which point diagonally downward, is looped a green or blue ribbon, the whole interrupted at intervals by brown clasps and black knots. The roof of this chamber, like those of B and C, is flat.

The door from A to D is not so broad as in the other tomb, and the plinth is simpler. Chamber D is more nearly square than the corresponding chamber in Tomb I, and the splay or broadening toward the rear, much



TOMB II.—Through E D A, looking South.

Fig. 6.—SECTION OF TOMB II.

less pronounced. The roof is in the shape of a barrel vault, with a small flat surface (3 cm.) next to the wall on either side. The roof of E was much higher in the centre than that of D, with splay sides spreading outward; but the details of the relation of the two parts of the chamber are obscured by the fall of great masses of the roof, especially in E. The wall surfaces in both D and E are stuccoed all over. The loculi openings are large, but there is no painting of the borders, and no architectonic treatment of the intervening spaces. The decoration begins with the space above the loculi. Here is a frieze consisting of a gracefully-festooned garland, whose easy resemblance to nature is in pleasing contrast to the mechanical stiffness of the large, serpentine garland in Tomb I. At the points of suspension, which always lie directly over the tops of the loculi, hang down oval loops of thin cords. The body of the garland is dark green, on which are painted at

frequent intervals light green strokes, intended to represent individual leaves (by artificial light all the greens in this tomb look blue). This frieze is framed above, immediately beneath the ceiling, by a double band of blackish hue, with a light-coloured stripe between, and beneath by a simple pink band running just above the loculi.

2. *The Paintings.*—The entrance wall is more richly decorated. On both sides of the door great amphoræ are represented, in all details, even to the alternations in shape and colour, the same as those on the rear wall of E in Tomb I. The form of these vessels is especially pleasing. As in the first tomb so here, the painter did not always follow the original design, and red outline sketches are clearly to be seen here and there.

The piers which mark the separation of D and E, and which, in order to make them resemble more closely projecting pilasters, are even somewhat undercut at the back, are furnished with very simple lintels, painted a light red. Below these runs the garland frieze, with its borders, blackish above, red below. In front, on the shaft of each pilaster, immediately below this frieze, is painted in bright yellow a tall candelabrum. Towards the top—the two sides vary somewhat—the outline is enriched by turned mouldings and calyx-like enlargements. On this rests a reddish-coloured lamp, with a bright red flame issuing from its long, boat-shaped ends. It is intended to represent a pottery lamp on a gold stand. The long, straight shaft of the stand rests directly on a square pedestal. Below and by the side of this candelabrum are represented two figures, both very small and youthful in appearance. The larger advances toward the altar, the right hand raised as though in adoration. He wears a sleeveless garment scarcely reaching to the knees, girded about the waist, and with a broad, white vertical stripe in the middle. With the left hand he drags after him a smaller figure, naked except for the small cloak on his back.*

The garland frieze of D is not carried over into E, but the double band immediately below the ceiling is continued; the white space between the dark lines being filled with a series of black loops, forming a small garland or festoon.

* I would compare the Babylonian and Assyrian representations of tall altars, resembling candelabra, which have been found on seals; also Babylonian representations on seals and bas-reliefs of priests leading suppliants, worshippers, or sacrificers to the presence of the deity. Lagrange describes it as an enormous candelabrum, and a naked person leading a child by the hand. See also Chapter V, p. 87.—J.P.P.

The door of the main sarcophagus chamber in the middle of the rear wall of E shows the usual narrowing at the top, but is otherwise very simply designed merely the narrow door-rim being painted yellow. On both of the broad wall-spaces beside the door, however, are large figure paintings, which in design and execution are altogether the best in either tomb.

On the left are two musicians (Plate XVI), slightly under life-size. One a youth, or, perhaps, even a boy,* advances toward the door of the chamber, blowing a double pipe. He wears a costume similar to that of the larger of the two figures before the candelabrum. His short tunic, striped vertically, has sleeves, and is girded with a red cord. His hair is bound by a fillet, the loose ends of which flutter behind. The maiden who follows plays on a small harp. She wears a long, parti-coloured, girded peplos, surmounted by a coat or jacket. Both figures are represented descending somewhat a steep incline toward the door of the chamber. Evidently they are musicians in festal garb descending to the abode of the dead, to honour and cheer him by their art even there.

The representation on the right had a similar intent. Unfortunately it has been for the most part chipped off by those who opened the tomb. Next to the tomb door a youthful servant is pouring out, at the very edge of the door of the burial chamber, a libation from a small blue or green kantharos. He is represented disproportionately small, apparently, but only the head and right arm are partially preserved. Behind him is a tripod painted yellow, to represent gold, with feet like those of the incense altar which stands in Tomb I, in which rests a large blue or green vessel, only the mouth and neck of which are preserved. Beyond this is a large *krater*, with ornamental feet, standing on a pedestal. This also is painted blue or green, and, like the preceding, is designed to represent glass. The upper part is gone, and a large piece of the wall above it is chipped away, as though there had been a human face or faces there. The whole appears to represent a festal or banqueting scene, in which the tenant of the burial chamber is made a participant, as it were, by the libation poured into the door.†

* Lagrange sees in him a soldier; but see Plate XVI.

† Lagrange sees in this "a priest holding in the hand a patera, which he appears to pour over the head of an ox; behind, a vase," and says that it is found, trait for trait, on a *bas-relief* in the Louvre, which belonged to a Roman temple of Neptune, dated 40 B.C. He suggests at the close that possibly what he has taken for an ox is a tripod table with animal feet. With Père Lagrange's first explanation of the scene before me, I made a careful re-examination of the remains of the

TOMB III.—Near the summit of the hill in which Tomb I is situated, and a little to the north of it, we found another very similar rock-cut burial place. The interior of this tomb had been entirely remodelled at a later date. All the partition walls had been cut away, and the single, large room thus obtained considerably deepened to form a dwelling. The original arrangement can, however, still be made out. The ground plan was simpler than in Tombs I and II. First came a broad *dywos*; then an antechamber (corresponding to A in I and II) without side chambers, and with only four loculi on each side. In the main chamber, opening directly out of this, there were six loculi on each of the long sides, and four in the rear. Of the last, the two in the middle had flat roofs; all the rest were cut gable fashion above. The ceiling of the main room itself was flatly gabled. The door between the two chambers was marked out by a simple rim in relief. No trace of painting is preserved, and of inscriptions there are only insignificant remains in the corners of the main room at the rear belonging to the loculi formerly existing there.

TOMB IV.—Across the next little side valley northward from the hill on which lie Tombs I and III, we found still a fourth tomb of the same general arrangement and period. Immediately below the ruins of the church of Sandahannah, to the south, is, or rather was (for I am informed that it has been filled up since our last visit) a round lime pit, across which a small, low door cut in the rock serves as the entrance to a well-made Christian tomb, with two chambers, square topped loculi, lamp niches and a small arcosolium. Crosses, with and without circles, are well painted on the walls in a red colour. At the end of the last loculus on the left, in the second or inner chamber is a small and ancient breach, made probably when the Christian grave was

painting to the right of the door on my third visit to the tomb, in company with Dr. Masterman and M. de Cesaris. This section was very badly broken by the fanatical Arabs, while a huge fall of stone from the roof directly in front of it rendered it somewhat difficult to study, and impossible to photograph. It did not seem to us that Père Lagrange's explanation of the scene was tenable, or that there was space for the component parts. The explanation originally proposed by Dr. Thiersch and myself, and now embodied in the text, seemed to us best to suit the facts as we observed them; although it must be said that in view of the fragmentary character of this fresco any restoration must of necessity be partly conjectural.—J. P. P.

excavated, through which it is possible to crawl with much difficulty into a loculus of Tomb IV. The proper entrance to this tomb is still buried beneath the ground. Like the preceding, the tomb consists of two chambers, the outer approximately square (375 cm.), with the entrance door on the west. On either side of the entrance door is one gabled loculus, and four at the northern end. There are no loculi on the southern or eastern sides. In the middle of the eastern wall is a door, leading into the main chamber, corresponding to D in Tombs I and II; this chamber is 562 cm. in length, 192 cm. broad at the western, and 222 cm. broad at the eastern end. There are six loculi in each side, and two at the eastern end, all gabled, and with a bench before them. The flat roof, which is perfect, and the walls, were left rough. Between the two loculi in the eastern wall above is painted, in red, what appears to be a winged figure with a rounded, human face. Below, about the middle of the same space, is a circle, also in red, in which something was painted, it is not clear what. It is possible, but not probable, that these were Christian emblems added at a later time. More probably there was a figure of the same general character as that shown in the tomb to the north of Beit Jibrin, described by Bliss and Macalister.* There is no other decoration in this tomb except the inscriptions, which are described in the following chapter.

H. Th.—J.P.P.

* *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 201.

ΑΤΤΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΗC CECΜΑΙΟΥΥΑΡΞΑCΤΩΝΕΝΝΗΑΡ|CΗ|C|
 ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝΙΚΑΘΥΤΟΝΧΡΗC ΤΟΤΑΤΟCΚΑ|Φ|ΛΟ
 ΕΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝ ΤΑΚΑ|ΤΕCΕCΑΡΑΕ

Continuation of first and second lines.

|C|ΔΩΝ|ΩΝ ΕΤΗ|ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝ ΤΑΚΑ|ΤΡΙΑΚΑΙΝΟΜ|CΘΕ|C
 ΙΛΟ|ΚΕ|ΟΤΑΤΟC ΑΓΓΕΘΑΝΕΝΔΕΒ|ΩCΑC ΕΤΗ

Fig. 7.—Inscription No. 1.

CHAPTER III.

THE INSCRIPTIONS.

THE GRAFFITI SUPERSCRPTIONS IN TOMB I—THE PAINTED SUPERSCRPTIONS—GRAFFITI NOT GRAVE INSCRIPTIONS—GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF TOMB I—OCCUPATION OF THE LOCULI—TOMB II—GENEALOGIES IN TOMB II—TOMB III—TOMB IV—DATE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

So far we have considered only the inscriptions which belong to the animal frieze and refer to the paintings. We come now to the far more numerous inscriptions which have to do with the burials in the various loculi, the tomb-inscriptions proper. These are very diverse both in the script employed and also in the time of their origin. They are all Greek, although the names which they contain are, in many cases, of Semitic origin. The inscriptions proper, the graffiti, are generally, but not always, the older, the painted texts are the later. The graffiti are for the most part in smaller letters, and with one exception (No. 2) stand directly above the loculus by the gable. The painted texts, on the other hand, have larger letters and are on a higher level; in the main chamber of Tomb I all, without exception, are in the animal frieze, which, in spite of evident efforts to spare the animal figures as much as possible, has been injured by the writing. Naturally, in great tombs like these considerable time must have elapsed before all the loculi could be filled. This period was, in the case of Tombs I and II, probably a little more than one and a half centuries, and we must not, therefore, be surprised if palæographically the inscriptions show a difference corresponding to so long a period.

1. *The graffiti in Tomb I.*—1. Above the right hand (southern) sarcophagus chamber in E (XXXVI), on the transverse of the flat door-frame which surrounds the entrance :*

* On the ground plans (Figs. 1 and 5 above) the number of the inscription is written in the loculus where the inscription occurs. Where there were two inscriptions above one loculus, the number of the second inscription is placed *before* the loculus.

Ἀπολλοφάνης Σεσμαίου ἄρξας τῶν ἐν Μαρίσῃ Σιδωνίων ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ
 τρία καὶ νομισθεὶς | πάντων τῶν καλ' αὐτὸν χρηστότατος καὶ φιλοκεϊώτατος
 ἀπέθανεν δὲ βιώσας ἔτη | ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα ἐτ—

"Apollophanes, son of Sesmaios, thirty-three years chief of the Sidonians at Marisê, reputed the best and most kin-loving of all those of his time; he died, having lived seventy-four years."

The letters are graceful, lightly but firmly cut, resembling in general character the writing in papyri of the third century *n.c.** On the occasion, evidently, of a second burial, the door-rim was rudely enlarged above, and the edges of the doorway were roughly smeared over with brown earth mortar, by which the inscription was considerably injured, especially in the centre; but fortunately all the letters could still be deciphered. That this inscription, which just fits into the space of the door-frame, really belonged to the original burial, is clear both from its treatment at the time of the later burial, and also from the fact that it is closely related in form to the inscriptions in the animal frieze, the original character of which can scarcely be questioned. This relation becomes very evident when a comparison is made with the commencement of the inscription and the *Αἰθιοπία* over the negro, which is both cut and painted, the letters being filled in with a dark gray material. The first letters of the Apollophanes inscription are treated in the same manner, but the filling has been omitted in the latter part of the inscription. At the end of the last line of the inscription there is the commencement of a superfluous *ἐτη*,† added through carelessness, and afterwards crossed out.

From the character of the writing and the place of the inscription it is clear that this graffito is the oldest grave inscription in the whole tomb; and it is also the most important in its contents, since it contains the name of the city, the statement that a Sidonian colony was planted there, and the clue to the family and racial connections of the occupants of the tomb in general.

Ἀπολλοφάνης. Proper names combined with Apollo are very common

* Cf. Kenyon, *Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, Plates II, XI. [The greatest length of the inscription, as measured from the squeeze, is $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.]

† Lagrange, *Comptes Rendus*, 1902, p. 500 *sq.*, reads here *ἐν*, after which he supplies the word for year. In the inscription *Ε* is very distinct. After that, one indistinct letter (*Τ*, afterwards marked out) appears to follow, but there is no trace of any other letters after it.

among the Phœnicians.* Whether this is due simply to chance in the adoption of Greek names, or whether it is to be traced to the identification of a great Semitic deity with Apollo,† or to the fact that Apollo was regarded as the race-father of the Seleucid dynasty, is not clear.

Σεσμαίον. The name is Semitic. It occurs in the bilingual inscription of Larnaka in Cyprus (*Corpus Inscr. Semit.*, I, No. 95, l. 3), where the Greek version gives Sesmaos without *i*, as in our inscription No. 9. The Phœnician form is *ססמי*, a derivative of *ססם*, meaning, therefore, "belonging to Sesem." In precisely the same form (transliterated Sisamai) the name occurs once in the Bible, as the name of a descendant of Jerahmeel (1 Chron. ii, 40).‡ *ססם* appears in other Phœnician theophorous names, as *עברססם*, and was evidently the name of a god.§

ἄρχας is apparently used in a technical sense, of the occupancy of an official position. Elsewhere in Phœnician inscriptions the word *ἄρχων* is used of the office of priest; || here it seems to have another sense, namely, holding the office of archon. *Ἀρχοντες* was the title of the committee of the *γερουσία*, or common council, which was politically the ruling body in all the greater communities of the Jewish diaspora.¶

We have no information of the method of government of Phœnician communities settled in foreign lands, but this inscription suggests that they enjoyed a self-government similar to that practised in the Jewish communities of the diaspora. Whether Apollophanes had colleagues or filled the office of archon alone is not clear.

* Cf. for example the name-list of the cippi from Amathus, Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 96. Cf. also inscription No. 23 and Tomb II, Nos. 2 and 9. The best known Syrian of this name was Apollophanes, author of *Θηπία*, physician to Antiochus the Great, and politician, who was probably a contemporary of our Apollophanes. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, p. 165. [A certain Apollophanes was also slain by Judas, the Maccabee, at Gezer along with the "Ammonites" Timotheus; 2 Macc., x, 37.]

† [Viz., Resheph, whose cult was introduced into Egypt during the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. He is actually identified with Apollo in bilingual inscriptions from Cyprus, and the village of *Arsof*, near Jaffa (the Apollonia of Josephus), was possibly one of his seats of worship. An old Phœnician seal combines Reseph, (*i.e.*, Resheph) with Melkart, the Baal of Tyre; see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, s.v. Resheph, Phœnicia, § 12; G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 56, sq.; cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Phœnicia*, II, p. 177.]

‡ [Cf. above, p. 8, on the association of Marêshah with Caleb-Jerahmeel.]

§ Cf. Bloch, *Phœnisches Glossar*. [See also, G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 62.]

|| Cf. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 370.

¶ Cf. for full details Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, III, p. 38.

τῶν ἐν Μαρίσῃ Σιδωνίων. "Marisê," the place-name, was somewhat damaged by the injury to the inscription mentioned above, but all the letters can still be read with certainty. The form in *ê* is new. Elsewhere we have *Μαρησα*, *Μαρισα*, and *Μαρισσα*; in Hebrew מרשה and מרשה. Marissa or Marêshah has always been sought for in this neighbourhood, and has of late been generally conjectured to lie beneath the ruins of Tell Sandahannah, although no absolute proof of this could be given. As the necropolis clearly belongs to the Seleucidan city proved by Bliss and Macalister to have lain on the opposite hill of Sandahannah, the identification of the site may now be regarded as definitely proved. The history of Marisê, and the significance of the location here of a Sidonian colony, are treated elsewhere (see above, Chapter I).

φιλοκειότατος, not found elsewhere in grave inscriptions, occurs in Dio Chrysostomos I, 136, in connection with the word φιλοσυγγενέστατος.

βιάσας. This verb is never used in the later inscriptions of Syria and Palestine, where only the sign for "years" occurs.

2. On the right-hand (south) wall of the main chamber, over the left-hand loculus of the two destroyed by the later enlargement, in the animal frieze, unusually high up, apparently belonging to the third loculus (xxx1),

Ἐνθαδε κείται 
μαίος

"Here lies
. maïos."

The name was rubbed out at an early date. How it should be completed, whether as Sesmaïos or Ptolemaïos, cannot be determined. The letters are small, and in the same good, cursive script as in No. 1; but the position of the inscription, in the animal frieze, suggests a date later, by a couple of generations at least, than the preceding.

3. On the entrance wall of B, above loculus v (Plate XVII):

Σαβοῦς Σεσμαιίου

"Grave of Sabo, daughter of Sesmaïos."

In script closely related to Nos. 1 and 2, but with somewhat larger

letters.* Sesmaios is evidently the same as in No. 1, and Sabo, accordingly, was a sister of Apollophanes. As long as a marital or fraternal relation is not expressly stated, as in No. 7, the second name, standing in the genitive, may with confidence be regarded as a patronymic. This is unquestionably the case when the preceding proper name is masculine.†

The name is Edomite and Nabataean. סבני in Gen. xxxvi, 2, is the name of a son of Seir, prince of the Horites. The same root (צבע) appears in the names סאבא and סאבאוס, found by Waddington in the Hauran. Sabo appears also as the name of an Arabic town on the Red Sea (Steph. Byz.).‡

4. On the right-hand (southern) wall of D, over the next to the last loculus (xxxiv), (Plates X and XVII),

Δημητρίου τοῦ
Μεερβάλου

“(Grave) of Demetrios, son of Meerbal.”

The second name is so carelessly written that it looks more like Meeromou than Meerbalou. Script similar to preceding.§ Demetrios is a genuine Hellenistic name: one hundred and thirty men of this name have been collected by Pauly-Wissowa from ancient authors and inscriptions. Of these not one lived before the second half of the second pre-Christian century, that is, the period of the Syrian kings, Demetrios I, Soter, and Demetrios II, Nikator.

* [The extreme length is 18 in.]

† Examples in Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik* (in Tw. v. Müller's *Handbuch*), p. 589.

‡ [There are other possibilities, viz., the צב of the Sabæan and Safa inscriptions (*cf.* Ar. *Sabā*); the Palmyrene and Nabataean סבי; the Palmyrene סבא (in Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, No. 3, the corresponding Greek has τοῦ Σαβᾶ); the Sinaitic שבש (Ar. *Sibā*, *Sab*), the Jewish סבא, סבא, and the Punic סבא and (feminine) שבש; the reading סבשסבא in *C.I.S.*, I, No. 355 is too uncertain. The fact that the β is not doubled makes it difficult to derive the name from any shortened form of שבש (e.g., Σαββαν, Σαββανιαν, etc., Jos., *Ant.*, xiii, 2, 4; xv, 7, 10)]. The name does not appear to occur elsewhere as a feminine, but its meaning, if derived from צבא, viz., “morning,” would be very suitable for the name of a woman.

§ [The extreme length of the inscription is 10 inches.]

Meerbal is the Græcized form of the common Phœnician and Punic name Maharbal or Maherbal (מַהֲרַבַּל), "gift of Baal."*

5. In B, over loculus XIII (Plate XVII).

Μαμμοισσωνίκου

"(Grave) of Mammoissonikos."

Above this a false commencement, Μεμ, had been made and marked out.

This remarkable name is quite unknown, and its linguistic connection is not clear. The first part, however, has a Semitic sound.†

6. In D, over the second loculus of the left-hand (northern) wall (XLIII). For Nos. 6-8, see Plate XVII.



Fig. 8.

Πτολεμαίου

"(Grave) of Ptolemaios."

The letters are irregular, and slant upwards slightly.‡

* Cf. *C.I.S.*, I., pp. 183, 206, 270, 292, 326, 384, 424. [Cf. *Μέρβαλον*, king of Tyre, Jos., *c. Apion*, I, 21.]

† [The extreme length of the inscription is 15 in. The fragmentary . . . *סמב*, *C.I.S.*, I, No. 60, and *סמב* (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, I, p. 138) may scarcely be compared.] Prof. Hommel suggests a connection with the city of Mampsis in South Palestine, mentioned on the mosaic of Medeba.

‡ [The extreme length is 13 in.]

7. Immediately above this :



Fig. 9.

Πτολεμαίου γυνή

"Wife of Ptolemaios."

Man and wife were, accordingly, buried in one and the same loculus, the wife after the man. The *eta* in *γυνή* appears to be making room for the *alpha* in the *Πτολεμαίου* beneath. The letters become gradually smaller.* The *ν* is quite unusual in form. The whole exhibits a regular papyrus character.

8. Over both inscriptions, large and carelessly written, beginning to the left, near the wreath : see Plates XIV, XV.



Fig. 10.

Perhaps the date? After the *alpha* there are remains of smaller and older letters crossed out. The third letter might also be read as *Γ* or *Λ*, or even *Α*, instead of *Τ*; and the first character might be a *Π* rather than a *Δ*.

* [The same feature is to be observed in the "Nicanor" ossuary; see *Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 127.]

g. In D, above the first loculus in the left-hand (north) wall (XLIV). (See Plates XV, XVIII.)

Κοσνατανός Ἀμμωίου τοῦ
Σεσμάου

"Kosnatanos, son of Ammoios, son of Sesmaos."

The letters are considerably larger than the preceding, and slenderly written.*

The change in the formula, the nominative instead of the genitive in the name of the possessor, is to be explained by the circumstance that two genitives are dependent upon the first name.

Kosnatanos is an Idumæan name, = "Kos has given." The same name occurs in a Nabatæan inscription at Hejr, and in a Greek inscription from Memphis (200-150 B.C.), together with Κοσγηρός, Κοσάδαρος, Κοσμαλαχός, etc.; E. Miller, *Revue Archéol.*, Feb., 1870, pp. 109 *sqq.* Among Idumæan names in Josephus occurs Kostobaros, the husband of Salome, Herod's sister.† In the same connection Josephus mentions a god Koze as worshipped by the Edomites.‡ In the Assyrian inscriptions occur, as names of Edomites, 𐤊𐤁𐤍-𐤂𐤁𐤪, and 𐤊𐤁𐤍-𐤌𐤁𐤊, which evidently contain the same divine name in composition. In Nabatæan inscriptions we have, 𐤊𐤁𐤍, as above, and in the Sinaitic inscriptions we find, apparently, the same name in composition, under the form 𐤊𐤁𐤍, in 𐤊𐤁𐤍𐤊𐤁𐤍.§ From all this it would appear that Kos or Koze was a god of much importance among the Edomites, Nabatæans, and the kindred and neighbouring peoples.||

Ammōios is evidently corrupted from Ammōnios, a name of Egyptian origin, which is extremely common from the Hellenistic time onwards. A

* [Extreme length of inscription about 23½ in.]

† Jos., *Ant.* XV, 7, 9. [? read Κοσγοβαρος. Dr. Peters compares 𐤊𐤁𐤍-𐤂𐤁𐤪, see above.]

‡ Cf. Kozah, worshipped by Arabs near Mecca.

§ Euting, No. 423. [The Palm. 𐤊𐤁𐤍 of course represents Cassianus, and of the Greek Κοσσαιον and Κοσμαιον from the Hauran only the former may be a compound of Kos.]

|| Perhaps the Arabic divine name 𐤊𐤁𐤍, and the Hebrew 𐤊𐤁𐤍 (which appears also in the Cansanite river name Kishon), are variant forms of the same name. [Cf. also the name Kushiayah, and see *Encyc. Biblica*, s.v. Kish, Kushiayah. According to a plausible correction of a reading in the *Vita Prophetarum* of Pseudo-Epiphanius, Elkosh (𐤊𐤁𐤍), the home of Nahum, lay "beyond Betogabra," i.e., Beit Jibrin; *Encyc. Bib.*, s.v. Elkoshiite (3).]

Phœnician Ammonios, of great influence about the period of this inscription, was the powerful favourite of Alexander Balas.*

Sesmaios, with the omission of *iota*, is evidently identical with the Sesmaios of Inscription No. I.

10. In Room B, over Loculus II, in the entrance wall :

Βάβας Κοσνατανού του
Ἀμμώιου

"Babas, son of Kosnatanos, son of Ammoios."

Babas appears as a Jewish name in the time of Herod (Jos., *Ant.*, XV, 7, 10). It was borne by a descendant of the Hasmonæans, famous, according to the Talmud, for his piety. His sons, the last scions of the house of Hyrcanus, were for a time concealed from Herod, who desired to slay them, by Kostobaros, governor of Idumæa. The similar Βάβης occurs as a slave name.†

Ammóios, again with the omission of the *ν*, as in No. 9.

The nominative of the possessor is to be explained on the same ground as in No. 9.

11. By the side of the preceding, at Loculus III. (Plate XVIII.)

Λε Ἀβ βι
Βαβατὰς Κοσνατανού του
Ἀμμώιου

"In the fifth year, the twelfth day of Ab, Babatas, son of Kosnatanos, son of Ammóios."

Written partly in very large letters.‡ The first *alpha* has the broken cross stroke.

* See Pauly-Wissowa, p. 1862. [*Cf.* Waddington, 2015, 2386, Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, I, 328.]

† *Cf.* Heb. בַּבִּי, Punic בַּבִּי, and Chajes, *Nordsemit. Onomat.*, p. 12. It occurs as a personal name, as Dr. Eino Littmann informs us, in the Thamudic (or Proto-Arabian) inscriptions, Euting, Nos. 121, 146a, 545, 781. Secondary masculine forms in *at* of this formation appear in Arabic, and also in early Babylonian names.—J. P. P.

‡ [Extreme length of inscription about 34 inches.]

The name of the possessor in the nominative and the form Ammoios appear as in No. 10.

The Semitic name of the month is here used instead of the Macedonian, which occurs in all other cases with one probable exception. (For this and for the era see the next chapter.) Palæographically this inscription and the preceding belong to the latest inscriptions in this tomb. The genealogical specifications would indicate that these two superscriptions are about a hundred years later than the time of Apollophanes (No. 1).

Babatas (*Βαβατάς*) appears to be a secondary formation from Babas (*Βαβάς*).

12. In B, above loculi ix and x. (See Plate XIX.)

Fig. 11.

Καλλικράτου
Κοσβάνου

καὶ τοῦ
υἱοῦ

“(Grave) of Kallikrates, son of Kosbanos, and of his son.”

The *sigma* is wanting at the end of the first name; in the last word, *υου* is written for *υου*.

Kosbanos is another Idumæan name, compounded with *Κος*. The second part of the name seems to contain the root *בן* or *בנה*, but I know no other example of the use of this root at the end of a theophorous name.*

The script is carefully executed and small, something like Nos. 4 and 5.

13. Over the preceding, in long thin strokes (see Plate XIX):

Κοσάδου (?)

* [*Κοσβανός* is found on a Greek inscription from Memphis; see G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 234.]

It was first written *Κοσακον*, but the *kappa* was evidently an error and was crossed out with a thick, vertical stroke. (Similar erasures occur also in Nos. 1 and 5.) The two projecting ends of the oblique strokes on the right are nullified by a bow-like line connecting them. Part of the remainder of the letter on the left was used again, the angle of the stroke of the new letter being intentionally so directed that its under part lies exactly in the line of the upper part of the *kappa* stroke. It is not clear, therefore, whether the new letter is a *delta*, or a *pi*, with the retention of the original perpendicular line of the *kappa* (possibly even *beta* or *nun*). Perhaps this Kosados or Kosapos (or Kosabos or Kosanos?) is the son of the preceding Kosbanos, mentioned in No. 12 as τοῦ νόου. The name, like the preceding, is Idumæan, a compound of *Kos*; but what the last part meant is not clear.

The graffito just described and the following are shown to be later than the inscriptions preceding, by their more slender, thinner and more carelessly formed characters.

14. Directly above Inscription 9. (See Plate XVIII.)



Fig. 12.

. . . ωλιος

The commencement is uncertain. There is here a finely incised looped wreath, which the letters seek to avoid. At most four letters are wanting. The script is small and somewhat rudely formed.

Immediately beneath this, written into Inscription No. 9, with quite thin, fine strokes, is a word of which only the end is partly legible.

. . . . PMCEN

15. In D, on the right-hand (south) wall, in the animal frieze, above the enlarged loculi xxx and xxxi. (See Plate XIX.)

Ἀλεξάνδρου
Γλαύκων[ος]

“(Tomb) of Alexander, son of Glaukon.”

The script is hard, stiff and very straight. It stands exactly above the middle of the rudely enlarged loculus, so that it must be supposed that this enlargement was done originally for Alexandros, not for the Heliodorus of Inscription No. 27, which was smeared above it at a later time.

The genitive ending in the second name is conjectural; could it be read "Glaukon, son of Alexander"?

16. In the animal frieze, beneath the rider, and above the first loculus (xxix), under inscription 26,

Fig. 13.

Μηθεῖς

"Nobody!"

Evidently only the beginning of a warning not to occupy the tomb, as in 17, 22 and 29. This warning presupposes a burial, which must be older than that of the Straton named below in 26, whose name is painted above the Μηθεῖς. This loculus has, therefore, certainly been used twice.

17. In the animal frieze, above the fourth loculus on the left (xli), cutting into the heads of the wild ass and the hippopotamus (see Plate XIII), with quite thin and very slender strokes. The single letters, after the fashion of cursive writing, are often connected with one another.

Fig. 14.

ε Μηθένα κυεῖν

δουλέειν

"Let no one disturb (the) daughter."

The *epsilon* preceding this inscription is puzzling. Perhaps the sign of the year (L) has fallen out before it, in which case we should have "year 5," which would correspond with the palæographic indications (see Chap. IV).

The first *ν* in *κινεῖν* is combined with the preceding *iota*. The concluding *ν* is decidedly undeveloped. Of the *theta* at the commencement of the second line scarcely anything can be recognized. The *eta* already has the later form which appears in papyri of the first century B.C.; and the *kappa*, also, is quite cursive.

Similar warnings couched in similar language are so common as to require no comment.

Whether it is the daughter of Meerbal to the left, or of Apollodoros to the right who is meant, or neither of the two, it is not possible to determine.

18. In D, under the animal frieze, to the right, above the second, enlarged loculus, and to the left above the first loculus in the right (south) wall (xxix and xxx). (See Plate VI.)

Κατέχεται καὶ τοῦτο

"This too is occupied."

Evidently here in the sense of "bespoken; reserved for future use;" not "the tomb is occupied by a burial which has already taken place in it."

Well to the right, above the first loculus and by the side of the first wreath, in large letters, there are characters somewhat resembling ΒΔ.

19. Above the main sarcophagus chamber (xxxvii) in E, at the far end of the entire tomb, in the middle, on the architrave above the door, coarsely and carelessly engraved, with large strokes, deeply cut into the red background. (See Plate XIX.)*

ΛΔΘΡ ὁλώου ᾿Ανταγόρα Ζηνοδώ[ρον]
ἀλυ[πε] χαῖρε

"In the 194th year, on the thirteenth day of the month Loos. The tomb of Antagoras, son of Zenodoros. Painless one, farewell."

* [Extreme length of inscription about 44 in.

The *omicron* between the number of the year and the name of the month is perplexing. It is not crossed out as might at first sight seem to be the case, for the thin, fine strokes above it are frequently found in other places on the tomb walls and are here quite irrelevant. Should we take *ολωουλ* for 'Ελουλ, i.e., the Semitic month, Elul (ܠܝܠܐ)? The inscription would then read: "In the 194th year, in the month Elul, etc.," the day being omitted. In favour of the reading of the Semitic name of the month there is the late date of the inscription (see 11, also Chap. IV).

Zenodoros: a very common name in Phœnicia.* It appears again in Tomb II, Nos. 2 and 5.

That the burial of Antagoras took place at a late period is clear from the date and from the careless character of the script. This, the principal grave in the entire tomb, evidently seems to have been reserved a long time for an especially important person (presumably Sesmaios, father of the Apollophanes of 1). It appears to have remained empty until the burial of Antagoras, at least there are no traces of any earlier use.

20. In D, on the left (north) wall, above the third loculus (XLI), divided in the middle by its gable (Plates XIV. XX).†



Fig. 15.

Μεερβαλου

"(Tomb) of Meerbal."

Deeply and clumsily cut, the letters angular, the *alpha* with broken crossbar.‡ It appears, therefore, too late to belong to the Meerbalos, who was the father of the Demetrios in No. 4.

21. In the ante-chamber, A, to the right, quite high up, above the entrance door. By the side of it there is a slight indication of something

* Renan, *Miss. de Phén.*, 380.

† The photograph of the latter was accidentally taken with the squeeze on the inscription.

‡ [Length of first half, about 7 in., of second half, about 16½ in.]

like the opening of a loculus. Perhaps it is to be referred to the nearest loculus beneath.

Ὀρταμάξ

Δημ ου ρε (?)

χαίρει

"Ortamax, son of Dem farewell!"

Possibly the enigmatical ρε, line 2, may be the remains of an ἀλυπε.

The patronymic was presumably Demetrios. The name Ortamax sounds northern. Perhaps it is Macedonian-Thracian.*

2. *The Painted Superscriptions.*—Another, in part at least, later group of tomb superscriptions is that which has been smeared in rather rude fashion with the same brown clay mortar, which also served to cement the border seam at the closing of the loculi.† The slow method of engraving the superscriptions before colouring them was given up. It is as though the workman, as soon as he had completed the walling up of any given grave cell, dipped his rude trowel in the brown mortar standing ready by him, and with this quickly and carelessly daubed the name of the dead person somewhere above his last resting place, troubling himself very little about what stood there before. By preference he used the animal frieze for this purpose, even when, as in the case of xxxii, xxxv, and xl, no older inscription had yet found a place on the vacant space immediately above the loculus.

22. In B, above Loculus vii, painted with brown clay mortar:

Μηθένα ἀνοίγειν

"Let no one open."

See the similar prohibition in Nos. 17 and 29.

* Cf. Ortas in Nos. 31 and 32 and the root *or* in the Thracian names in Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, II, p. 10 (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, 1894).

† In a few cases the material with which the loculi were closed is still well preserved in its lower part. The openings of the loculi were walled up with small, longish blocks of the native chalky limestone, laid in regular layers, without mortar, precisely the same method which Hamdy Bey reported in the tomb containing the Alexander sarcophagus at Sidon.

23. In B, over Loculus xv, and extending over the altar by the main door :

Δημητρίας
Ἀπολλο-
φάνου τοῦ
υἱοῦ

A good, straight, perpendicular script. The first name stands directly over the loculus, the second a little to the right and lower down, on the panel of the door, below the cock (see Plate IV). It is not, therefore, altogether certain that the two are connected; but since there is no grave under the second name, it has been taken as one inscription, and may be translated :

"(Tomb) of Demetria, daughter of Apollophanes the son" (*i.e.*, junior).

For the interpretation of the second genitive—the final *sigma* is again wanting—as referring to the father and not to the husband, see under 3. The Apollophanes here named appears to be intentionally distinguished from the Apollophanes in Inscription No 1. He may be the son of the latter; although the script and the place of the inscription suggest a longer interval between the two.

24. In C, above the third loculus of the left-hand (western) long wall (xviii).

Ἀπολλοδώρου
"(Grave) of Apollodoros."

Another name especially characteristic of the Hellenistic period. See also 29 and Tomb II, No. 6.*

25. By the side of this, over the fourth loculus (xix).

Στρατόνως
"(Grave) of Straton."

* For the frequency of this name in this period see Pauly-Wissowa. A Phœnician of this name is mentioned in Renan, *Mission de Phén.*, pp. 380, 385.

The same name as in 26. There were at least two kings of this name in Sidon, one of them especially famous for his Philhellenism, and the name seems to have been a favourite one. It is formed, perhaps, from Astarte, with an ending *-δν*, for which compare the name Badon, Tomb II, No. 4.

26. In the animal frieze under the rider (Plate VI), and belonging evidently to the first locus in this wall (xxix).



Fig. 16.

Στρατώνος

"(Grave) of Straton."

Very carelessly and thickly smeared on with a dark gray coloured paint or mortar.

27. In the animal frieze above the enlarged locus (xxx, xxxi), daubed on roughly with brown clay mortar (See Plate VII).



Fig. 17.

Λ Α

Ἡλιοδώρου

"In the first year. (Grave) of Heliodoros."

The date (A is more likely than Λ), if date it be, has been patched on above. In the name itself there is a correction. At first the workman carelessly wrote Ἡλιοδώρο. Then, noticing the dittography, he stopped, and after the first *omega* wrote ρου. That this is so is shown by the fact that *o* and *v* are cut through the lines of δω, which letters had therefore evidently been formed already.

This name, also, is one in common use from the Hellenistic period onwards.* See also Tomb II, No. 1.

* A Heliodoros of Sidon appears in *C.I.A.*, 412.

28. In the animal frieze, over the last loculus of the right-hand (south) wall (xxxv), written over and through the elephant and rhinoceros. (See Plate X.)

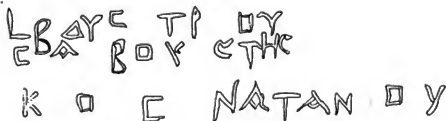


Fig. 18.

LB Δύστρον

Σαβούς τῆς

Κοσνατανού

"In the second year in the month Dystros. (Grave) of Sabo, the daughter of Kosnatanos."

The letters are stiff and angular, especially the *omicrons* and *sigmas*. The *alphas* have the broken cross stroke. It is clearly one of the latest inscriptions. It is evident in this and other inscriptions in brown clay that some effort was made to avoid the pictures of the animals, and also injured spots in the rock surface. The Sabo here named was a great-niece of the woman of the same name in No. 3 (the τῆς* is added probably to make the distinction more clear), for Kosnatanos here is evidently the same as in No. 9.

With regard to the era, see the next chapter. The name of the month is here written out in full, but specification of the day of the death is wanting.

29. In the animal frieze, on the north wall, above the next to the last loculus (xl), written over and above the crocodile and ibis. (See Plates XI, XII.)

* Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ

Ζαββαίου. Μηθένα

κινεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, μὴ αὐτῶι

σώζεσθαι ΛΙΖΡ Πανη. λ.

* Lagrange has read this as part of the name, and thus made out of it a man, Saboustes. On the name, see above, p. 41, n. 1.

"(Grave) of Apollodoros, son of Zabbaios. Let nobody touch this, and if he will not hearken, then may not his (grave) rest undisturbed. In the year 117 (?)* on the 30th (?) of Panemos."

A rather lighter coloured, somewhat yellowish, clay. Here again there is some effort to spare the animal figures. Only the first *alpha* has a broken cross mark. At the end of the third line the letters in front of the neighbouring fish are so crowded together that they have become indistinct. The *iota subscriptum* at the end of *αβρῶ* seems to be omitted. The *omicron* appears at first to have been written too small, and then to have been added in larger size beneath. At the very end follow the numerals of the day of the month, half rubbed out, whether Α or Λ is not certain. In the number of the year the 1 and 10 are inverted, 12 instead of 21.

The warning against robbing the grave, which we have in abbreviated form in Nos. 17 and 22, is here written out in full.

Zabbaios is the name זבאי, which occurs also in Palmyrene inscriptions and in those from Safa.

30. In the animal frieze, on the south wall, above the fourth loculus (xxxiii), over and under the giraffe and boar (Plates VIII, IX).

Λαορ δὲ
Ἀμμωνίου
τοῦ Ζαββαίου

"In the year 171, on the fifth of Dios. (Grave) of Ammonios, son of Zabbaios."

Carelessly written, like the preceding, with brown clay mortar, with an effort to spare the animal figures.

Ammonios, here correctly written with *n*, is the son of Zabbaios, and therefore a brother of the Apollodoros of No. 29. The name Ammonios appears on the Sidonian tomb-cippus in Renan, *Mission*, p. 385.

* The number of the year is not clear. Lagrange has read L2P, 107, which would give us the year 206 B.C., a use of the Seleucid era before the conquest of this region by the Seleucids. I am inclined to read L2P, which gives us the year 160, and fits in better with the genealogical table. In this case we should not be obliged to assume a transposition of numerals. Otherwise, also, we have an almost incredible gap between Apollodoros and Ammonios, the one dying in 171, the other in 117. The date 160 will, moreover, leave less of a gap between the dates in Tomb I (see table of dates on p. 77).—J. P. P.

The month name Dios is abbreviated as ΔΙ. Above this appears a numeral for the day, €^ε, thus, ΔΙ^ε (or else the numeral for the day is wanting and *ei* are united in a €₁, as is often the case in papyri, and we have the form Δειος instead of Διος, as in *C.I.A.*, IV, 3871).

3. *Graffiti, not Grave Inscriptions.*—Finally, we have a group of graffiti which are not grave superscriptions and which are not connected with the loculi. With one exception these are all on or about the door which leads from the ante-chamber, A, to the main chamber, D, that is, where people were constantly going to and fro, whereas the entrance was the proper place for ritual acts, offerings and sacrifices.

31. Outside, above, over the door-head (Plate XX):

Ὀρτᾶς Μακεδων

"Ortas, the Macedonian."

Clumsy, angular, careless script.* A Macedonian colony was settled in Samaria at the time of Alexander the Great. For the name, otherwise unknown, see above, under No. 21.

32. In the same place, high up to the right:

Ὀρτᾶ

Perhaps the commencement of the preceding inscription, left unfinished.

33. On the right-hand wall of the door passage, above the Kerberos. The lines tend somewhat obliquely downward (see page 59). The inscription is complete; only the third letter in πᾶθω of the first line is somewhat illegible, but the reading given may be regarded as fully established. The script resembles that of No. 1, but the *alpha*, *lambda*, *epsilon*, *nu* and *omega* are distinctly more cursive and less upright than in that inscription, while the *eta*, *upsilon*, and *nu* are essentially different from those there used. In general

* Lagrange (*Comptes Rendus*, 1902, p. 508) supposes Ortas to have been the architect of this tomb, who signs his name here in attestation of that fact. This is in the last degree improbable. The inscription is late and careless. As will appear later, there is much scribbling by later visitors in the immediate neighbourhood of this door.

character, and especially in the form of the last-named letters, the script resembles that of the papyri of the end of the third century.* In its content the inscription is unique. It is evidently erotic, and appears to give us a glimpse into an ancient romance. A maiden has written on the door of the tomb a message to the lover whom alone she really loves, to arrange for further intercourse between them, which is henceforth possible only in the sign language of nods and becks. Toward the close the sense is rather indicated than expressed. The lover is of course alive and not one of the dead in the cave.

Οὐκ ἔχω τί σοι πάθω ἢ τί χαρίσωμαι . κατακείμει μεδ' ἑτέρου σὲ μέγα φιλοῦσα
 'Αλλὰ ναὶ τὴν 'Αφροδίτην μέγα τι χαίρω, ὅτι σοῦ τὸ ἱμάτιον ἐνέχυρα κείται
 'Αλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀποτρέχω, σοὶ δὲ καταλίπω εὐρυχωρίην πολλήν . πράσσει, ὅτι βούλη
 Μὴ κροῦε τὸν τοῦχον, ψόφος ἐγγίνεται, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν θυρῶν νεύμασι κείται.

"There is nought that I may do [suffer] for thee or wherein I may please thee. I lie with another, though loving thee dearly.

But, by Aphrodite, of one thing I am very glad: that thy cloak lieth in pawn.

But I run away, and to thee I leave behind plenty of free room [complete freedom?]. Do what thou wilt.

Do not strike the wall; that does but make a noise; but through the doors. It lieth in nods." [By signs we communicate with one another. Let that be our agreement.]†

* Kenyon, *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, p. 38 and Table I. [Extreme length of the inscription is about 22 in. (first line).]

† Père Lagrange has published this inscription in *Comptes rendus* of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1902, p. 497. He regards it as poetry, as did we at first, and in the method of writing, the lines ending at different lengths, it does suggest poetical form; furthermore, the second and fourth lines rhyme at the end. It certainly, however, comes within no known canons of Greek poetry. In the first line Père Lagrange reads ἐνέχυρα[σ] instead of our ἐνέχυρα. There is in fact a second vertical stroke in the Υ, which led us at the outset to read it as η; but the υ in φιλοῦσα in the same line, about which there can be no doubt, has a similar (accidental?) stroke, so that it looks somewhat thus Υ; on the other hand, ετα in this inscription has elsewhere the form Η (and not Η as in No. 1). To read ἐνέχυρα it is necessary to suppose the omission of a sigma. Near the close of the second line Lagrange reads ἐν ἐχίρα instead of ἐνέχυρα. There is very clearly in the inscription Υ, and not Ι. So in the last line the text is plainly ἐγγίνεται, and not ὄνει νεται.

The last two words of this inscription present the greatest difficulty to the translator. The letters themselves are perfectly plain, viz., *νευμασικείται*. Lagrange suggests the reading *νευμα σ' ικέται*, "but through the doors a nod to thee is sufficient," which is, I think, quite impossible grammatically. The verb in that case should be either *ικεταί* or *ικνεῖται*. It seems clear that we have, in fact, *νεύμασι κείται*.

τὶ πᾶθω has here perhaps the sense *quid faciam*.

πάσχω and *χαρίζεσθαι* are not necessarily to be understood in an erotic sense.

εὐρυχωρίην is an Ionism, like *ἀγνωστίην* on the stone inscriptions found at Sandahannah by Bliss.*

For the *νεύματα* and the sign language between living lovers compare the well known passages in Ovid.†

The *ἔρεπος* of our inscription is clearly not to be understood as the husband of the writer, like the *vir* in some of the passages cited above.

Among the imprecation tablets found in Sandahannah several appear to presuppose, or to have in view, disappointments in love affairs, viz., Nos. 15, 21, 22, 24, 33, 34.‡

The language and the writing of our inscription are so good and so faultless, that one is inclined to suppose the writer to have been of pure Greek nationality and to have possessed no small degree of culture. It might be conjectured that this was acquired in Alexandria, although, on the other hand, we are involuntarily reminded of the statement that a Hellenistic king of Sidon brought quantities of Greek maidens from the Ionian islands, the Peloponnesus and other parts of Hellas to be wet-nurses and dancers at his court.§ The spacious tomb, as yet quite or almost unused, in a somewhat unfrequented place, outside of the city, must have been a convenient rendezvous for lovers.|| Here in the twilight shadows they may have waited for one another on the benches, and while they waited, scribbled all sorts of signs on the wall. There, above the Kerberos, is a female head full-face, with long

* *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 182, and No. 34, p. 174.

† Ovid, *Amor* II, 4, Art. I, 565 sqq. XVI Tibull., V, 21; VI, 25; Næv. fragm. com. 76.

‡ Cf. *Excavations in Palestine* p. 185.

§ *Theopomp apud Athen.*, xii, 531.

|| For ancient rendezvous as shown by graffiti, cf. Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii: its Life and Art*, p. 484.

ΟΥΚ ΕΧΩΤΙC ΟΙΤΑΘΩ ΗΤΙΧΑΡΙCΩΝΚΑΤΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΟC ΕΤΕΡΟC ΜΕΤΑΤΙΝΟΥCΑ
 ΑΝΝΗΡΑΙΤΗΔΕΡΘΑΙΤΗΔΕΓΑΤΙΧΑΡΙCΩΝΤΟΙΝΩΤΟΙC ΕΙCΑΙΡΑΚΕΙΤΑΙ
 ΑΛΛΕΤΑΜΕΡΑΠΟΤΡΕΧΟCΙΔΕΚΑΤΑΜΗΤΩC ΕΠΙΧΩΡΙΗΙΤΕΛΑΝΗΤΕΡΑCCΟΤΙΒΟΛΛΗ
 ΜΗΚΕΡΘΕΤΟΙΤΟΙΧΟΙΤΑΦΟC ΕΓΓΙCΤΑΙ ΑΝΝΗΡΑΙΤΕΡΑCCΟΤΙΒΟΛΛΗ
 ΕΙCΑΙΡΑΚΕΙΤΑΙ

x
 2

FIG. 19. INSCRIPTION No. 33.

hair, and not far from this a bearded head in profile; also two fingers which hold something like the corner of a robe (Fig. 20.) On the opposite jamb are



Fig. 20. FACSIMILE
OF A GRAFFITO.

various pentagrams and hexagrams, such as were used as signs of greeting in secret or friendly intercourse, as among the Pythagoreans. Near these is a sketch of a small altar with a bowl-like vessel upon it, out of which incense rolls up, while round the middle of the altar a garland seems to be entwined. To the left, above, there is another head in profile. There are, further, two animal figures, afterwards crossed out, an eagle, and something like a deer. There is also a graffito outside in the ante-chamber A, above the door, on the right, representing an object which is quite unintelligible to us. (See p. 19, also Plate III.) All of these are evidently the unauthorized scribbles of idlers and visitors. Here, on the left-hand side of the doorway, very lightly scratched, in a script similar to the preceding, is the following inscription (No. 34):—

ΗΛΙΟΣΚΑΙΩΝΜΥΡΩΝΙΕΡΕΥΣ
ΕΠΙΝΕΥΜΑΚΑΛΥΨΟΥΣ

* Ἡλῖος καίων Μύρων ἱερεύς
ἐπὶ νεῦμα Καλύψους.

The meaning of this—if the reading is correct and if the lines really belong to one another—is not clear.* The *νεῦμα* in the second line suggests the closing words of the last inscription, and raises the question whether Myron and Kalypso be not the lovers of those lines.†

* There is evidently in this inscription an effort at poetic form, and it seems safe to say that the writer was a Semite. The parallelism or balance of parts is plain. Moreover, in the two carefully balanced halves of the first line, the two equal words ending with the long syllable *-ων*: καίων and Μύρων, have been brought into juxtaposition; and in a general fashion, familiar in Hebrew poetry, the concluding syllables of the two lines *-ων* and *-ους* rhyme, or perhaps better jingle, with one another. Lagrange reads in the last line *νεῦμα*; but the *νεῦμα* is unmistakable in the original.—J. P. P. •

† The close relation between No. 33 and the Alexandrian erotic fragment edited by Grenfell (Oxford, 1896; cp. Wilamowitz, "des Mädchens Klage," *Göttinger Gelehrte Nachrichten*, 1896,

35. In conclusion we may note an inscription in three lines, cut in the stone, over the outside entrance of this tomb. The letters were rather tall and thin. Unfortunately the door was half buried in débris, and such parts of the inscription as were not buried were hopelessly defaced, so that we could only decipher a few isolated letters (Fig. 21).*

4. *Genealogical Table of Tomb I.*—Studying the indications of relationship contained in these inscriptions, we obtain the facts presented in the following table. We can follow the family of the Sidonian prince Sesmaios through four generations (i). We have also five other family groups, three (ii, iii and vi) of which name two generations each, and two (iv and v), perhaps three generations. We may safely conclude that these smaller groups are related to the family of Sesmaios, although we cannot prove it, much less show how they were related. Besides these six groups we have nine individuals (vii) as to whose family relations we have no information of any sort, except that they are buried in the tomb of the Sesmaios family.

p. 209 *seq.*), is so obvious that it scarcely needs more than a mere mention. Apart from the *Ionismus* of the language, certain expressions sound very similar, e.g., the *ἀπορίσκειν* in verse 49. On the part which the door played in the erotic literature, see the evidence collected by Fries, *Rhein Museum*, 1902, pp. 213 *seq.* For another interpretation of inscription No. 33, see Dr. Peters' note at the end of this chapter (pp. 72 *seq.*).

† Our squeezes of this inscription were failures, owing to the broken condition of the rock, which tended also to disintegrate and peel off when touched. The rocks from above, which we could not remove, as they held up a mass of superincumbent débris, covered the first part of lines 1 and 2. It may possibly be worth while, however, to give a copy of what we actually saw.

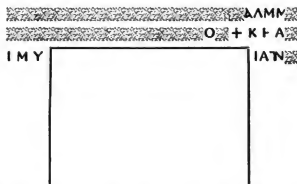


FIG. 21. ROUGH SKETCH OF INSCRIPTION OVER THE OUTER DOOR OF TOMB I.

The scantiness of female names is striking. There are twenty-seven names of men and only three names of women (the two Sabos and Demetria), besides which there is the unnamed wife of the Ptolemy in No. 6 and the unnamed daughter of the unknown man in No. 17.

I. Sesmaios, 1, 3, 9. Apollophanes I, 1. Ammoios, 9, 10, 11. Sabo I, 3. Apollophanes II (?), 23. Kosnatanos, 9, 10, 11, 28. Demetria, 23. Babas, 10. Babatas, 11. Sabo II, 28.	
II. Zabbaios, 29, 30. Apollodoros, 29. Ammonios, 30. ✱ 196 B.C. ✱ 142 B.C. (or 153 B.C. ?).	III. Zenodoros, 19. Antagoras, 19. ✱ 119 B.C.
IV. Kosbanos, 12. Kallikrates, 12. Kosakos (?), 13.	V. Meerbalos, 4. Demetrios (?), 4, 21. Ortamax (?), 21.
VI. Glaukon, 15. Alexander, 15.	VII. Mamoissonikos, 5. Ptolemaios, 6, 7. Kosakos (?) 13. Meerbalos, 20. Ortamax (?) 21. Apollodoros, 24. Straton, 25. Straton, 26. Heliodoros, 27.

NOTE.—The Arabic numerals following the names indicate the numbers of the inscriptions in which those names occur. As indicated above, there is some doubt whether Apollophanes II is the son of Apollophanes I, whether Kosakos is the son of Kallikrates and Ortamax of Demetrios. There is also some question as to the correct reading of the date of Apollodoros. It should be observed that palæographically the dated inscriptions are all relatively late, and that considerable time must have elapsed between the earliest of these and the inscription of Apollophanes I.

5. *Occupation of the Loculi.*—The following table will show the distribution of the dead who are named in the individual loculi, from which it is evident how freely the tomb was utilized. But this list does not show all the occupants of the tomb. Even where no superscriptions exist, burials took place, as is shown by the remains of the clay mortar with which the edges of the loculi openings were smeared when the loculi were closed after a burial. This is the case in xxxii and xxxix in D and in many of the loculi in C. Furthermore, at times more than one body was placed in a loculus, and in not a few cases the loculi were opened later for second burials. This is clearly the case in xxix, xxx and xliii. It may be concluded, therefore, that the burial places in this tomb were all, or almost all, filled, and that there were in round numbers at least fifty interments in the three chambers together.

A.	C.
B.	XXV. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII. Ortamax, 21.
I. II. Babatas, 11. III. Babas, 10. IV. V. Sabo I, 3. VI. VII. <i>Μηθέρια ἀναιρέτω</i> , 22. VIII. IX. 1) Kallikrates 2) Kosakos (?), 12, 13. X. Son of Kosakos (?), 13. XI. XII. XIII. Mamoissonikos, 5. XIV. XV. Demetria, 23.	D. XXIX. 1) <i>Μηθέρια</i> , 16, 2) Straton II, 26. XXX. 1) Alexander, 15, 2) Heliodoros, 27. XXXI.aios (?), 2. XXXII. Ammonios, 30. XXXIII. XXXIV. Demetrios, 4. XXXV. Sabo II, 28.
C.	E.
XVI. XVII. XVIII. Apollodoros I, 24. XIX. Straton I, 25. XX. XXI. XXII. XXIII. XXIV.	XXXVI. Apollophanes I, 1. XXXVII. Antagoras, 19. XXXVIII. D. XXXIX. XL. Apollodoros II, 29. XLI. Daughter of (?), 17. XLII. Meerbalos, 20. XLIII. Ptolemaios and wife, 6, 7. XLIV. 1) Kosnatanos, 9, 2)olios, 14.

6. *Tomb II.*—As already shown, this tomb was in general more simple in its arrangements than the preceding; so, also, we have here fewer inscriptions, and most of these are only painted on with brown earth mortar. As is pointed out in Chapter IV, all the dates in this tomb belong to the Seleucidan era.

1. (36) On the rear wall over the door of the main sarcophagus chamber (xvii), beginning on the left above the musicians (see Plate XVI). Of a dark gray colour, in thin, fine strokes, in part very much effaced. A good papyrus script.

Ἔτους ὀρ Ἀπελλαίου Κλεοπάτρα τοῦ
Ἡλιοδώρου
. χαῖρε

"In the year 170 in the month Apellaios. Cleopatra, daughter of Heliodoros 'Farewell.'"

The year is not absolutely certain; and the name of the month is rather a conjectural restoration than an assured fact. The word or words in the last line before χαῖρε are uncertain, and written in very cursive style (perhaps an ἀλυπε?).

2. (37) Above the door of the sarcophagus chamber, to the left (xvi), and by the side of the preceding. Painted in brown earth mortar; in part effaced. Good, very perpendicular script (see Plates XVI, XX):

ΔΑΜΡ ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥ
ΞΕΝΔΙΚΟ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΟΥ
: I

"In the 144th year on the 1st (?) of Xandikos. (Grave) of Zenodoros, son of Apollophanes."

The *rho* in the year figure is badly ruined, but exists. The *xi* in the name of the month, which here, as usual, is written with a *delta* instead of with a *theta*, is not clear, and the *alpha* after it has been omitted. The figure indicating the day of the month can no longer be determined with certainty. As before, the genitive of Apollophanes has no final *sigma*.

3. (38) In the left (northern) transept, commencing in the corner of the wall on the side towards the entrance (west), and continuing on the northern wall of the transept. Certainly to be referred to Loculus xiv, where fifteen years before the husband of the woman here named had already been buried.

ΛΘΞΡΠΑΝΗ | Ζ
ΜΟΥΠΕΡCIC | ΓΥΝΗ

"In the 169th year, in the month Panemos, (departed) Persis, (his) wife."

There is a sign above γυνή which indicates merely that both parts of the inscription, divided on the two different wall surfaces, belong together.

Persis (Πέρσις), as a woman's name, is known elsewhere only from the Epistle of Paul to the Romans xvi, 12.

4. (39) On the wall on the same small side (north) over the first Loculus (xiv):

ΛΔΝΡ ΒΑΔ
ΩΝΟC

"In the year 154. (Grave) of Badon."

Βάδων is the Phœnician ברא (or בדע), common in Punic as in Phœnician inscriptions, with a Greek formative ending, as in Straton from Astarte. Note the pronunciation *bad* instead of the common *bod*, but compare for this the very common form בר (abbreviation of ברא) *bad*, which appears as a preformative in theophorous names, such as Bad-Melek.

5. (40) By the side of this, above the second loculus (xv):

ΛΕΚΡΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΤΟΥΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ

"In the year 125. (Grave) of Apollodoros, son of Zenodoros."

If this Zenodoros is identical with the one mentioned in No. 2, we have the father outliving the son twenty-one years.

L

6. (41) In the main chamber, over the third locus of the northern long wall (x1):

ΠΕΡCIC
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΛΛ . . .
ΝΙΥΠΕΒΛ

Perhaps to be read:

"Persis, (daughter) of Apollodoros (or Apollophanes); on the 30th of the month Hyperberetaios."

There is an error in the writing of the name of the parent, which was apparently corrected, but how is not clear, as the last part of this line is entirely illegible.

7. (42) In room B, above Locus 11:

ΦΙΑΩΙΟΥCΙΔΩ
ΝΙΑC

The fifth letter is probably an error for *tau*, in which case we should read:

"(Grave) of the Sidonian woman Philotion."

An Hetaira of this name is mentioned in Terence: *Hec.*, I, 2, 6.

8. (43) In the same room, above Locus 14:

ΒΑΛΣΑΛΩΙΕΡΕΩC

"(Grave) of the Priest Balsalo."*

The *sigma* in the name has four strokes, the lines above and below horizontal, contrary to the use elsewhere in these inscriptions.

Βαλσαλω = בעלצלל (Baal hath prospered?) The name is found in an inscription from Sidon of the third to second centuries B.C.†

* Lagrange reads this name Balsmo, which is perhaps possible, although in the actual inscription there seem to be two letters, *AA*, and not one *M*.

† Lidzbarski, 418, No. 3; *C.I.S.*, I, No. 559. [For the form, cf. *Δαρσαλων* = דרעסלל *C.I.S.*, I, No. 115.]

9. (44) In D, in the circle over the middle loculus of the right (south) wall (xxiii). Incised and painted; on the whole the best executed and the best preserved inscription in this tomb: *

LΘMP
ΑΠΟΛ
ΛΟΦΑΝΟΥ

" In the 149th year. (Grave) of Apollophanes."

Again the genitive without sigma. If this Apollophanes is the same as in No. 2, we once more have the father outliving the son, this time five years.

10. (45) In the right hand transept, over the door of the sarcophagus chamber to the right (xviii). Finely incised and painted. (The facsimile [below] is after a copy made by Père Vincent, to whom we are indebted for this and the following inscription, which were overlooked by us.):

Fig. 22.

LHOPIΩIOYK-NOYEMPHN

Under this the same date is again written in painted characters:

LHOP

together with a superfluous O and P and N.

11. (46) On the wall of the southern side of this transept over Loculus xix, by the side of the former, in thin fine letters:

Fig. 23.

L O P δεμνον

* This inscription was overlooked by us on our first visits. Our attention was called to it by Père Vincent before my last visit.—J. P. P.

12. (47) Equally puzzling are some letters exactly in the corner between 10 and 11.*

7. *Genealogies in Tomb II.*—Among the names occurring in this second tomb are four which we already know from Tomb I: Apollophanes, Appollodoros, Zenodoros, and Heliodoros. This fact, and the striking resemblance in the construction and arrangement of the two tombs, do not justify the conclusion that the families to whom the two tombs belonged were related, although this may well have been the fact. At least it seems clear that this tomb, like the preceding, belonged to the Sidonian colony. Badon and Balsalo are both Phœnician names, and Philotion is especially stated to have been a Sidonian. The Greek names are of a Hellenistic type, and several of them are very common among the Græcized Phœnicians. Idumæan names, so common in Tomb I, are here wanting altogether. As in Tomb I, female names are rare. We have only Persis and Philotion, the former occurring twice, both, as already pointed out, names of rare occurrence. Of relationships inside of the new group in this grave we have the following:—

Heliodoros I.	Apollophanes 2, 9 (?).
↓	(✱ 164 B.C.)
Kleopatra I.	↓
✱ 143 B.C.	Zenodoros 2, 5.
	✱ 169 B.C.
	↓
	Appollodoros 5.
	✱ 188 B.C.

From the dates accompanying the names it appears that this tomb also was occupied principally, at least, in the second century B.C., and that its construction must date at latest from the very first years of that century. The dates in this tomb seem to commence with the earliest burials, which

* With Père Vincent's copy and notes before me, on my third visit to the tomb I again examined these inscriptions, with the assistance of Dr. Masterman. My results differ rather from those in the text, and I would suggest as a possible reading: "in the year 178, (grave) of the son (σιων) of" The last name curiously resembles Arsinoë. The inscription is partly incised, partly painted. The second inscription runs round the corner, over XIX; it is painted only, with the exception of the first letter, and is so confused with the loop ornamentation that it is difficult to determine which is which. To me, it appears that the inscription may possibly be read: "(grave) of the son of Sidemmios" (?). I did not observe the double date in No. 10.—J. P. P.

would apparently indicate, in connection with what has been said above, that it was constructed at a somewhat later date than the preceding.

8. *Tomb III.*—The insignificant remains of inscriptions in this tomb belong to the loculi formerly existing at the rear of the main chamber, and are painted with a brown-red earth colour, like the late painted inscriptions in Tombs I and II :

1. (48)

ΛΘΟΡΛΗ.....
ΛΛΙ....
ΤΟΥ

This is to say, "In the 179th year" ?

2. (49)

..... ΠΑΝΗΜΟΥ
..... ΤΟΥ

The name of the month, Panemos, written with *êta*, as in I. The single date in this tomb shows us that it was in general contemporary with Tombs I and II.

9. *Tomb IV.*—The inscriptions in this tomb which we could decipher are almost all smeared on with brown-red earth mortar, and all of them have to do directly with the loculi. They are all in the second or main chamber.

1. (50) Cut in very deep, and in an angular fashion, like *Μερεβάλου* in the first Tomb. *Alpha* both times with broken cross stroke.

CAPIAC

"(Grave) of Sariah."

Σαρίας is a good Jewish name. We meet in Josephus a general and a high priest of this name (Ant. x, 9, 2, x, 8, 5), also a town *Σάρη* and another, *Σαριάστα* (vi, 12, 4 and v, 8, 12). The name *סריס*, which appears to be the original form, is found in a Palmyrene and also in a Hebrew

inscription.* A place Saar or Saarim (סערם) is also mentioned in Phœnician inscriptions (*C.I.S.*, I, Nos. 294-305):

2. (51)

APICTANE . A . . CIN
APIPOY
BIAOPΔ . . .

The first word appears to be the female name 'Απίστα. *Απίστος is not otherwise known. At the end there appears to be a date: 'Αβ αὶ ὀβ, on the 11th Ab, in the year 170(?).

3. (52) Deeply cut in and then filled up again with coloured earth. The same clumsy and angular types as in No. 20 of Tomb I.

ΕΙΡΗΝΗ

"Irene."

Here we have a rare instance of the proper name in the nominative.

4. (53)

ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗC
ΑΔΑΙ

"(Grave) of Berenice."

Perhaps the second line may be read: "On the 11th of Adar." The name is one famous in Jewish annals.†

5. (54)

ΦΙΛΟΞΕ(N)
ΟΥ

"(Grave) of Philoxenos."

The latter part of the name is so carelessly written that the omission of the *n* is in no wise surprising.

* Levy, *Siegel u. Gemmen*, No. 5; *Rev. Bib.*, IX, 1900; Lidz., *Eph.*, I, p. 198 (סר, יי).

† Cf. also Renan, *Mission*, p. 386.

6. (55) On the rear wall of the main chamber :

ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙ
ΛΟΥΠΟΒΑ

"Aristea, daughter of Pobas," (?) if one may assume the omission of a *tau* in the second line. There is an Egyptian name Ποβεύς.*

7. (56) By the side of this, above the neighbouring loculus :

ΑΡΙC . . .
ΑΡΙCΤCΙΑ
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΥ

"Aristeia daughter of Apollodoros (?)."

The last name may be restored Apollodoros or Apollophanes.

8. (57)

ΠΑΤΡΟΒΑΛΛΑΟC

"(Grave) of Patrobala."

This appears to be a composition of the Greek *παρπο* with the Semitic divine name בעל, and is equivalent in sense to the familiar Canaanitish name אביבעל, "father (or my father) is Baal." Apparently the Baal had here the form so common in Aramaic proper names and in the compound names on the Sinaitic inscriptions (בעל), whence the *balā* in our name.

9. (58) On the roof above a loculus near the door of the main chamber :

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑC ΒΑΒ
ΦΙΛΟΥC,

Perhaps "(Tomb) of Demetria, daughter of Philo. On the second day of Ab," or "In the second year in the month Ab." (Or is the ΒΑΒ the beginning of another name, *e.g.* Βάβας, as in Tomb I, 11 ?).

* *Pap. Cas.*, 23, 7.

Philo is a name borne by at least one famous Jew.

It will be observed that the names in this tomb are in general quite unlike those in I and II, and several of them are quite unique. If we can be sure of the dates in Nos. 2 and 9, this tomb, like the three preceding, was in use in the first century B.C.; cp. below, Chap. IV.

10. *Date of the Inscriptions.*—There is naturally no better analogy for the inscriptions in our tombs than the inscribed stones found by Bliss in his excavations on Tell Sandahannah, which have been published by Dr. Wünsch in the last volume of *Memoirs of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Excavations in Palestine*, 158 sqq. A comparison of our inscriptions with the facsimiles there given, shows that palæographically both are written in the same cursive papyrus character.*

All those inscriptions are on blocks of the light coloured, exceedingly soft limestone of which all the hills in that region consist, and out of which our tombs were cut. In a material which can be so easily marked, and which offers such soft, smooth surfaces, that tractable, cursive script which we know elsewhere only in papyri was bound almost of itself to be used. Hence the peculiarities which distinguish both the inscriptions found by Bliss in Marissa, and the inscriptions found by us in the necropolis of that town in the same period, *circa* 200 B.C.

J. P. P.—H. Th.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON INSCRIPTION No. 33.

The translation of my collaborator, Dr. Thiersch, which stands in the text, does not quite satisfy me. The Greek of this inscription seems to me ragged, as though written by a foreigner. The arrangement of the lines as poetry suggests a poetical original, which I venture to think must be sought in some other language than Greek.

* We may be permitted to add that the editor of those inscriptions seems to have overlooked this pervading similarity with the Hellenistic papyri from Egypt. Because of some insignificant errors in writing, which he judges from a one-sided Attic standpoint (p. 181), he has placed them all in the second century A.D. From a comparison of them with our inscriptions, it seems clear that both alike belong rather to the Hellenistic period, that is to say, the second and first century B.C.—H. Th.

As the tomb belonged to a Sidonian colony in Edomite territory, this original language would naturally be a Semitic dialect. The best commentary for the explanation of this inscription seems to me to be the dirges and funeral lamentations in use in Palestine and surrounding regions to-day. (Cf. Dalman, *Palästinischer Diwan*, and Enno Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkspoesie*.) These dirges are often interlocutory, or even semi-dramatic, representing more than one speaker, and occasionally a conversation with the dead. In many instances it is almost impossible to determine who is supposed to be the speaker, the thoughts of living and dead interchange so rapidly, or are so confused one with the other. Precisely these conditions we seem to have in this inscription, the thought belonging one minute to the dead, and at the next to the living. I do not think that this inscription was written by an *hetaira*. The passage in the first line which has principally suggested this: *κατακείμει μεθ' ἑτέρου σὲ μέγα φιλοῦσα*, is rather an allusion to the bridal with death.

There was obtained from a tomb in or by Beit Jibrin, about the time our tombs were first opened by the natives, a piece of gold leaf, of which a fac-simile representation is here given (Fig. 24), bearing the inscription:



Fig. 24. FACSIMILE OF GOLD LEAF INSCRIPTION.*

Εὐτυχῶς τοῖς νυμφίοις

"Good luck to the bridal!"

This gold leaf was perforated somewhat irregularly by a number of very small holes, and had evidently been stitched into the clothing of a dead person, who was thus felicitated on the bridal with death. (A custom of bridal with death is still observed in Palestine in connection with the burial of unmarried persons of marriageable age.) From what I can learn, I am inclined to think that this gold leaf may have come from one of our tombs, but the form of the object seems to indicate the Roman period.

The *ναὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτῃν* in the second line would also lose its erotic significance if this is a translation from the Semitic. *Ἀφροδίτη* is frequently identified with the goddess Allath, and presumably this phrase represents an original *בשם אלת*. This goddess was the great mother goddess, representing in some phase the sun, in Palmyra,

* Now in the possession of Mrs. Way of Jerusalem, by whose permission it is reproduced here.

among the Nabateans, and in Arabia. Her worship does not, like that of Aphrodite, connote of necessity sexual or erotic suggestions, although, as already stated, the name is often represented in Greek by Ἀφροδίτη. Perhaps the goddess rather than a god is mentioned because, as would appear from the first verse, the dead here addressed was a woman.

The second half of this verse is perplexing grammatically as a Greek clause, and perplexing also in its sense. The dirges cited by Dr. Littmann contain frequent references to the clothing of the dead, which is left behind at death. In one such dirge the wife of the dead is made to say that she "will sell his clothing." In another case the dead speaks of himself as without covering, and calls on the occupants of the tomb to which he descends to provide him; to which they respond that they have no covering there. Elsewhere the widow is represented as bidding them lay her cloak upon the camel, a symbol of her departure from the house of her mother-in-law. I can only suggest that this verse is an expression of joy that the cloak of the dead, though she lies uncovered in the tomb, remains a pledge as it were of wifehood and membership in the family of the writer of the dirge.

The instruction not to knock upon the wall, because it only makes a noise, resembles somewhat in idea a passage in one of the dirges in Littmann's little volume, cited above, in which the sister of the dead says: "I knocked on the iron door, its nails answered me."

The crux of this inscription, so far as the mere translation is concerned, is the last clause. Lagrange has divided the text so as to read: *νεῦμα σ' ἔκειται*, translating: "et il te suffit d'un signe à travers les portes." This however gives, if possible, a less satisfactory sense than the *νεύμασι κείται* of our text. In classical Greek, *κείται ἐπὶ* = "depends upon." We might suppose that in our text the preposition has been omitted, and read the last four words: "It depends on signs made through the doors"; but this seems to make no sense in connection with the inscription as a whole. Indeed, the words as they stand seem incapable of an intelligible rendering. I venture to think that, by mistake, the writer being a Semite, a Semitic word has been substituted for the Greek word which he intended to write. One of the common phrases for death in the modern Palestinian and Syriac dirges to which I have referred, is "sleep." The dead speak of themselves as sleeping; of a dead wife it is said, "she sleeps a sleep," etc. The root used in all cases is *nm* or נָם. The same root is used in Aramaic in the same sense, the sleep of death, both as a verb and also as a noun נִמָּה and נִמְתָּה. Now, נִמָּה (*nāmāh*) is in sound almost identical with the Greek *νεῦμα*, and a Semitic writer, having in mind the word sleep, נִמָּה in his own tongue, might very readily confuse sound and sense, and in translating into Greek at the end of an inscription where mistakes of such a nature are most likely to occur, substitute the similar sounding *νεῦμα*, in the dative plural, *νεύμασι*, for the *ὑπνίοις* which he should have written. It is possible that we may find a natural cause for this error in Inscription No. 34, which stands on the opposite door jamb. Here we have in the closing line the words *ἐπὶ νεῦμα Καλύψου*. If this inscription was in existence when our writer inscribed No. 33, the word *νεῦμα* might have been in his eye as he wrote, and helped to induce the mistake suggested.

The use of *δία* with *θυρῶν* in connection with a verb of rest, *καίται*, may be another Semitism, the translation of the preposition *בְּעַד*, which can be used in the sense either of behind or through.

If my interpretation be correct, we have here a translation into Greek of a metrical Semitic dirge, similar in general character to those used by the natives of that region to-day, probably interlocutory, spoken to, by, and of a dead woman. The first phrase may be either a statement or a question. The concluding phrase, passing from direct address to the third person, states that there is nothing more anyone can do (the force of the *ἀλλά*), because she lies in the sleep of death through or beyond the doors of the tomb:—

(To the Dead):

There is nought that I may do for thee or wherein I may please thee?

(The Dead):

I lie with another (Death), though loving thee greatly.

(To the Dead):

But, by Aphrodite, of one thing I am very glad: that thy cloak remaineth as a pledge.

(The Dead):

But I run away, and to thee I leave behind free room a plenty. Do what thou wilt.

(To the mourner):

Do not strike the wall: that does but make a noise. (There is nothing more to do.) Through the doors she lieth in sleep.*

J. P. P.

* For many of the suggestions in this note I am indebted to Dr. Enno Littmann.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TWO ERAS.

TABLE OF DATES—THE COMMON ERA—THE SPECIAL ERA.

The inscriptions date themselves ; the accompanying table (p. 77) shows all the dates contained in them, together with the corresponding years B.C., reckoned on the supposition that one of the eras used is the Seleucidan, the other, the era of Eleutheropolis itself.

Problems.—The first question which arose was : Do all these dates belong to the same, or to different eras ? And then, what are those eras ?

In answer to the first question it may be said without hesitation that the bulk of the dates are homogeneous, that is, most of them belong to one and the same era, forming a series from the 117th to the 194th year. On the other hand, three dates are so far removed from the remainder that they seem to follow a different reckoning. That, in fact, they do not follow the same era as the rest, is clear on the following grounds :

Otherwise, there would be a gap of more than one hundred years, from the 5th to the 117th year, during which Tomb I would have remained unused, of which period of disuse there is not the slightest trace. The death of the younger Sabo (Inscr. No. 28) took place in the "year 2." The genealogical table shows that there were three or, including Sesmaios, four generations, that is, a period of 100–120 years, between her and the builder of the tomb. Whichever of the older eras we assume, this would bring us down to the end of the fifth or the first half of the fourth century for the construction of the tomb. But the style of the oldest inscriptions, as well as the character of the paintings, which evidently belong to the original use of the tomb, are impossible before the third century B.C. This is, in fact, the earliest possible date for them.

TABLE OF DATES.

Number of years according to the era used.	Tomb I.	Years B.C.	Number of years according to the era used.	Tomb II.	Years B.C.	Number of years according to the era used.	Tomb III.	Years B.C.	Number of years according to the era used.	Tomb IV.	Years B.C.	Number of the Inscription.
117	IZP	196	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	29
			125	ΕΚΡ	188	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
	or		144	ΔΜΡ	169	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
			149	ΘΜΡ	164	...	...	...	...	...	...	9
			154	ΔΝΡ	159	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
(160)	ΞΡ	153)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	29
			169	ΘΞΡ	144	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
			170	ΟΡ	143	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
			(170	ΟΡ	143)	...	...	...	...	...	...	11
									(170	ΟΡ	143)	2
171	AOP	142	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30
			178	HOP	135	...	...	...	...	...	...	10
						179	ΘΟΡ	134	...	...	...	1
194	ΔΘΡ	119	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	19
1	A	?	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	27
2	B	?	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28
5	Ε	?	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11
(5	Ε	?)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17

It is not likely that, in the very first years of the Seleucidan rule (and, as will appear shortly, the Seleucidan era is the only probable one for the majority of our dates), dates would be regularly reckoned according to that era, especially in the provinces. The very existence of that rule was seriously

imperilled in those first years by the Ptolemies, and the Seleucidan reckoning seems to have become securely established only after it had become apparent that the Seleucidan was actually the enduring dynasty, which in this region could not have been before the end of the long Egyptian interregnum of nearly eighty years (274-198 B.C.).* It is after this interregnum that all the dates in Tomb I commence, with the exception of the last three (or four). The earliest dates on Phœnician coins according to the Seleucidan era begin to appear not much earlier than this interregnum.†

It may be safely concluded, therefore, that the years A, B, and E cannot belong to the same era as all the other dates; but that they belong to another and later era.

But first, *what is the older era* to which the bulk of the dates belong? There are the following possibilities:—

- (1.) The well known era of Sidon (111 B.C.).
- (2.) An older era of Sidon, not yet effectively proved, but suggested as existing (from an inscription found at the Piræus).
- (3.) The era of the Ptolemies (261 B.C.).
- (4.) The era of the Seleucids (312 B.C.).

As to (1.) It would seem natural, in view of the professed connection of Tomb I with Sidon, to seek a Sidonian era; but the well known era of 111 B.C. is excluded from the outset, because it would bring the dates down to a period much too late considering the style and character of the tombs, and would cause the latest dates to extend even into the Christian era.

(2.) The older era of Sidon might be possible, since its commencement must fall in the middle or first half of the third pre-Christian century. But this was clearly not an era in common use; it is, in fact, known only from a bilingual inscription of the Piræus.‡ Dates in our region could scarcely be referred to that era unless they will clearly fit no other.

* According to Babelon (in Pauly-Wissowa, p. 633), the Seleucidan era was not introduced into Phœnicia before the conquest by Antiochus the great, *i.e.*, not before the beginning of the second century B.C.

† According to Babelon the first, quite isolated, are about 201, 198, 196; but this dating of coins does not become common until after the middle of the second century, commencing in most of the cities with the year 162 of the Seleucidan era (151 B.C.). Cf. Rouvier's catalogue of Phœnician coins in *Journal internationale d'archéologie numismatique*, 1899 and 1900, and his conclusions in the *Revue des Études grecques*, 1899, p. 380.

‡ *Rev. archéol.*, 1888, pp. 599, Pl. II and III; Köhler, in *C.I.A.*, IV Suppl. 2, 1335, and Schürer, III,³ 59.

(3.) The era of the Ptolemies is excluded, because Egyptian rule in Syria did not last half so long (76 years) as the number of years reckoned in the inscriptions according to the era in question (194 years), and it is scarcely credible that the Egyptian reckoning was used in Palestine after the defeat of Egypt at the battle of Paneas (198 B.C.).

(4.) The Seleucidan era has the greatest probability on its side.* This was at times the only era, and was everywhere customary in Hellenistic Syria,† as can be seen from the mints of all the Phœnician cities in the second century B.C.;‡ and it may with a fair degree of confidence be accepted as the era for the bulk of the dates of the present inscriptions, so that the years 117-196 are equivalent to 194-119 B.C.

The Later Era.—But what is the later era of the years one, two and five? The possibilities seem to be:

- (1.) The era of the Maccabees (142 B.C.).
- (2.) The era of Pompeius (64 B.C.).
- (3.) The era of Actium (31 B.C.).
- (4.) One of the later eras of the Phœnician cities, as that of Sidon (111 B.C.), Tyre (126 B.C.), Gaza or Ascalon (104 B.C.).

As regards (1.), one is tempted to think of the Maccabæan era, because in the later Hellenistic period Idumæa was re-annexed by the Maccabees to the Jewish kingdom. Marissa itself was taken by Judas in 163, a capture which seems to have had no lasting effects. Later, between 139 and 108 B.C., it was again taken by John Hyrcanus, the Edomites in general were forcibly circumcised, and from that time onward Idumæa was Jewish. But the era of Simon begins in 143-2 B.C., while before 130 Marissa can scarcely be reckoned as Jewish. Moreover, in the present tombs, as we have seen, the Seleucidan era is still found in use as late as the year 119 B.C.

As for (2.) and (3.), we must confess that we are unable to bring forward any convincing proof *against* the adoption of one or other of these eras.§ It is the same with the eras mentioned under (4.).

* Cp. Babelon, *Les Perses achéménides*, p. clixiii: "L'ère des Séleucides—qui a été en usage—dans presque toutes les villes phéniciennes, si bien qu'elle devrait plutôt s'appeler l'ère de Phénicie;" also Lagrange, *Comptes Rendus*, 1902, p. 503.

† Cf. Kubitschek, in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* *Æra*, pp. 633 *seqq.*

‡ Cf. Rouvier, *l.c.*

§ Lagrange (*l.c.*) assumes for these dates the Pompeian era, and calls attention to the fact that Hippos, Diium, Scythopolis, Pella and other towns freed and restored by Pompey, adopted the Pompeian era. This was not true, however, of all the towns thus treated by him in Palestine.

Finally (4.) As towards the end of the second century the Greek kingdom of the Seleucids dissolved into a number of small independent principalities, so at the same time the continuity of the Seleucidan era lost itself in an equal number of petty local eras, especially in the cities of the Phœnician-Palestinian coast.* But there is no sure ground for the definite selection of anyone of these younger eras known to us as the only correct one, and if any is to be taken, it is perhaps most natural, in the present case, to think of Sidon. According to that era the years 'one,' 'two,' and 'five' would coincide with the years 111, 110, and 107 B.C., which would give a closer connection with the last date from the Seleucidan era, 119 B.C., than any other. It must be said, however, that while it is quite clear that the earlier dates must be reckoned according to the Seleucidan era, no such certainty seems to be attained in regard to the era of the later dates.†

The oldest date mentioned in the inscriptions in these tombs is 196 B.C., the latest may be about two centuries later. From the undoubted fact that the earliest date in Tomb I was written some time *after* the construction and decoration of the tomb, it follows that the tomb itself must date from about 200 B.C., that is, quite at the end of the period in which this region was subject to the Ptolemies; a synchronism which helps to explain the numerous points of contact with Egypt and with Alexandrian art noted in Chapter V. Even without the clue afforded by a consideration of political history, the style and art with which we have to deal would be perfectly intelligible, in view of the powerful influence of Alexandria in countries outside the political realm of the Ptolemies, especially in regions so near the capital as South Palestine.

J. P. P.—H. TH.

* Cf. Kubitschek, *op. cit.*, p. 647 *seq.*

† But this uncertainty is now entirely dispelled by the fortunate discovery, only recently made, that Eleutheropolis, or Marissa, too, had its own era like the other important towns of that period which we have mentioned above. From the newly-discovered inscriptions of Jerusalem and Beer-sheba (*Revue Biblique*, 1902, p. 438, 1903, p. 275), we follow Kubitschek's conjecture that the epoch-year of the new era is to be placed not in the time of Septimius Severus, but about the birth of Christ, if not earlier (*Oesterreichische Jahreshefte*, 1903, p. 53 [*Beiblatt*, p. 91]).

In all probability the years A, B, E of Tomb I. belong to this era of New Marissa (Eleutheropolis). For this era, *cf.* also four grave-inscriptions published in the *Revue Biblique*, 1904, pp. 266 *seq.*—H. TH.

CHAPTER V.

THE PLACE OF THE TOMBS IN THE HISTORY OF ART AND CULTURE.

DEVELOPMENT OF ROCK-CUT TOMBS—GABLED LOCULI—THE KLINÉ—THE PAINTINGS—DETAILS OF THE DECORATION—THE ANIMALS.

What place do our tombs occupy in the historical development of the Oriental rock-cut tomb?

1. *Development of Rock-cut Tombs.*—The general type of the tombs of Beit Jibrin is one well known from the Hellenistic period. Such underground halls with long rows of loculi and entered by means of steps have been found in the islands of Greece,* Carthage,† Cyrenaica,‡ Egypt,§ Syria,|| and Phœnicia.¶ Where the type originated has not yet been investigated; in all probability, however, in Egypt:** at least nowhere else have tombs of this

* Ægina, not yet published; Kos, *Archæol. Zeitung*, 1850, pp. 242 sqq., Tafel XXII; Crete, *Monumenti antichi dell' Accademia dei Lincei*, VI, p. 170, note.

† Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Phœnicia*, I, p. 235 sq.

‡ Pachow, *Relation d'un voyage dans la Marmarique*, etc., Pl. XLVIII.

§ Especially common in the Alexandrian Necropolis. Cf. *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie*.

|| Publication of the Russian Archæological Institute at Constantinople, year VII, p. 126.

¶ Especially at Sidon and Amrith. Cf. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Pl. XVI, LXII LXIII, XLIV.

** Cf. Thiersch, *Zwei antike Grabanlagen bei Alexandria*, p. 11.

description been found in such quantities and with so consistent an arrangement of the loculi.* By way of Alexandria this type of tomb appears to have spread into other lands; in Syria as in Greece it is evidently not native.

There is an older type of rock-cut tombs in Phœnicia which is quite different from the preceding, although clearly brought in also from Egypt, namely, the pit or shaft grave.† The essential principle of the latter is inaccessibility, the greatest possible difficulty of access. Sacrifices could be offered only in or near the visible superstructure,‡ high up above the invisible sarcophagus chambers, which were buried deep in the ground, just as in Egypt in the case of the Mastabas.§ This type occurs in Phœnicia in the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C., notably in the Sidonian royal tombs, and the tomb of Tabnith is its characteristic representative. A deep, well-like pit is sunk in the rock, from the bottom of which, at opposite ends, two small chambers run out horizontally. These are without ornament and empty, the sarcophagi themselves reposing not within, but beneath them, covered over with heavy stone slabs. ||

But the royal tombs of Sidon¶ already show a further development from this original, simple plan. The two chambers at the opposite sides of the pit are no longer sufficient; two more have been added in the other axis, and these have in addition been extended sidewise. The sarcophagi are no longer hidden beneath the surface, but set upon the floor of the chambers. Little by little these tombs filled up; every place was occupied, and in this direction no further development was possible, or at least practicable.

The type of tomb at Beit Jibrin is the next later, namely, that of the third and second century B.C. As already stated, this also probably originated

* The most magnificently equipped tomb of this description is undoubtedly the catacomb of Kom-us Shugafa (plan in Baedeker, *Ägypten*, 5th ed., p. 14).

† Cf. Studnitzka, in the *Jahrbuch des K. deutschen archäolog. Instituts*, 1894, pp. 217 sqq.; Montelius, *Asien u. Europa*, pp. 163 sqq.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 220.

§ Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Egypt*, I, p. 182.

|| Cf. Hamdy-Bey, *Nécropole de Sidon*, Pl. XLIII. The same type of shaft-tomb is now stated to have been in use in Carthage in the fourth century B.C. (see the account of Delattre's excavations at the necropolis of St. Monica, near Carthage, *Comptes Rendus*, 1901, pp. 272, 583 sqq.; *Cosmos*, 1902, *passim*).

¶ Ground plan and elevation by Hamdy, *loc. cit.*, Pl. III. For its reference to the royal family of Sidon, see Studnitzka, *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 1894, pp. 205 sqq.

in Alexandrian Egypt.* In Phœnicia it appears already fully developed. It rests on a principle quite the opposite of the preceding, namely, accessibility. The chambers still lie beneath the surface of the ground, it is true, but they are no longer so far beneath the surface; moreover, they are connected with the upper world by an entrance of easy grade, provided with steps. The small sarcophagus chambers of the preceding type become great halls, with a roomy ante-chamber. The sarcophagi are set in niches in the walls, leaving the floors of the chambers free and their centres unoccupied. That, in contrast with the tombs of the earlier type, the chambers themselves were used for purposes of residence, or rather that they were occupied for solemn gatherings and religious rites, is evident from the benches which run along the sides of the walls, as well as from the small altars which are found at the entrance or in the middle of these halls.† There are in Sidon a few tombs

* For the sake of completeness it may be noted that still a third type of tomb was given to the world by Egypt, if, as appears to be the case, the system of long, intricate underground passages, with niches for coffins, which we are accustomed to call 'catacombs,' had its origin in the land of the Nile (which I hope elsewhere to prove to have been the case). This constant and powerful influence of Egypt on the method of burial in the ancient world is not to be wondered at, in view of the quite unusual care shown by the Egyptians in the preservation of their dead, in which also they were assisted by a dryness of climate such as exists in no other land with the exception of Peru, where we find mummification quite as in Egypt (*cf.* H. Schurta, *Urgeschichte der Cultur*, p. 201). The common element which distinguishes all the different Egyptian methods of burial (with the single exception of the colossal pyramids of the Old Kingdom, a splendid attempt to introduce the most monumental tomb of man in primitive conditions, tumuli which the desert wind should never be able to cover over), is the lack of adornment of the outer structure of the tomb, and the concealment of the graves themselves beneath the ground. In Asia, on the other hand, the tendency is to show a proud façade in the face of the rock (Phrygia, Persia, Arabia); while Greek and Roman funereal art manifested itself in all its variations in the shape of buildings, properly so-called, erected above the grave (Attic and southern Italian funereal aediculæ, Hellenistic herosa, Halicarnassus, the tombs of Hephaistion and Alexander, the mausolea of the Roman emperors, Theodoric's monument). *Cf.* also, for the entire question of tombs, the fine observations of Gustav Hirschfeld, *Aus dem Orient* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 358 *seq.* The intermediate step between the type of the Asiatic rock-façade, whose latest and best examples are at Petra in the desert, and the independent type of the Greco-Roman world, is to be seen in such monuments as the Tomb of Absalom, whose close relation to Petra has already been rightly recognised by Guthe (*Palästina*, II, pp. 237, 241): the façade is no longer upon *one* but upon all *four* sides, and the whole stands separated from the rock behind. The latest development of the independent Roman type with masonry, which is related to the family or communal tomb, appears in the many, storied funereal tower, the characteristic features of Syria from the Haurân to Palmyra.

† *Cf.* the altar found in the vestibule of a tomb at Gezer, *Quart. Stat.*, 1904, p. 25.

which show the transition from the older method of burial.* Here some of the sarcophagi are buried beneath the floor, others stand on the surface in the middle of the hall, while in the walls have been cut long rows of loculi.

Later a further step in advance was taken. The tombs were rendered still more accessible by bringing them into a horizontal or almost horizontal position, and on one level. The small corridor before the antechamber now falls away as useless; the antechamber itself is open in front, generally in its full breadth, and is developed into a façade, which forms a frame for the main door in its back wall, leading into the sarcophagus chambers proper.† In the arrangement of the sarcophagus-chambers themselves progress is also visible. In order to employ the surfaces of the four walls for niches and to avoid intersection of the loculi at the corners, the halls are further removed from one another, connection between them being established by long, narrow corridors. This is a type which is developed especially in Judæa in the first century B.C.‡ In this form of rock-cut tomb the offerings for the dead were evidently made in the great open ante-chamber.

Greater development in this direction appears in the emphasis of the outward appearance of the artistic façade at the expense of the sarcophagus chambers, which become constantly more insignificant, and are finally left quite without ornament: it reached its grandiose climax in the latest period of the Nabatæan princes in the cities of the Arabian desert, Petra, el-Ĥejr, and others. Nowhere else does the pomp of the splendid façade stand in such striking contrast with the niggardly simplicity of the small inner chambers.§

* Cf. the ground plan in Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Pl. LXII—III.

† Cf. "The Tomb of the Judges," de Saulcy, *Voyage de la Mer Morte*, Pl. XXXIV, XXXV. Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, II, 326–340; of the same type are all the rock-hewn tombs at Seilûn.

‡ Cf. a small completely symmetrical tomb of this type in Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Judæa*, I, 284. The largest incomplete and therefore unsymmetrical tomb of this description is the so-called Tombs of the Kings at Jerusalem (de Saulcy, *Voyage de la Mer Morte*, Pl. XXIX).

§ Cf. Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, pp. 15 and 16; Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'Exploration à la Mer Morte*, Pl. XLIV–XLVIII; also in general on rock-cut tombs in Palestine, R. A. S. Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, pp. 199–203. In all probability the majority of the façades of Petra belong not to the last years of the Roman emperors, but to the height of the Nabatæan power in the first century B.C. Alexandria, the powerful capital of the Hellenistic world, and not the distant Rome, is to be regarded as the source of this style of architecture.

2. *Gabled Loculi*.—The loculi with gabled roof, which are found in the tombs of Marissa, are not the customary type in Palestine: * the usual form is rather the horizontal or the slightly vaulted roof. The gable, also, seems to have been borrowed from Egypt, together with the systematic arrangement of the loculi walls; it is a form which evidently did not originate in rock-cut graves; it can only have originated where no rock or other firm material existed, out of which tombs could be cut in the form of caves; it must have originated in a region of loose earth or sand, the pressure of which forbade the use of a horizontal roof in an underground chamber. To resist this pressure from without, a covering of stones set one against another in gable form was the most practical method. In the recently destroyed necropolis of Alexandria, especially in the eastern, the Hellenistic one near Hadra, I have often seen such loculi.† Delattre gives examples of this form from Carthage,‡ and entire tomb chambers covered in this way have been found in Cyprus.§

The floors of the chambers of the tombs at Beit Jibrin are so deeply covered with fragments, that the benches along the walls scarcely rise above them. If these fragments, principally of the broken walls which once closed the loculi, could be cleared out, small finds would doubtless come to light, with remains of the offerings for the dead plundered by the tomb robbers.

In Palestine itself tombs of the same type have only been found up to the present time in the neighbourhood of Beit Jibrin.|| The next nearest analogy is to be found in the tombs of Sidon.¶

3. *The Klinē* (see above, p. 21), however, is quite unique, not only in Palestinian but also in Phœnician tombs. It is a Greek motive, belonging especially to the Hellenistic period, a favourite decoration of the background

* Except in the neighbourhood of Beit Jibrin; cf. *Excavations in Palestine*, p. 200.

† To the same type and period belong the loculi-tombs of Kerke in the Fayûm; cf. Ebers, *Die hellenistischen Porträts aus dem Fayûm*, p. 11.

‡ *Revue Archéologique*, 1898, II, p. 224.

§ Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Phœn.* I, p. 219 sq.

|| Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archæological Researches*, II, 445; Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, pp. 199 sqq.

¶ Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Pl. LXIII, fig. 1 (ff.).

of the tomb.* The mural paintings in these tombs, likewise, are carried out in a thoroughly Greek style. As is usually the case in Greek post-classical sepulchral art, the Ionic architecture is preferred,† and only the isolated motive of the triglyph frieze is borrowed from the Doric. The best analogies for the Ionic columns are the capitals and shafts found at Tell Sandahannah itself.‡

4. *The Paintings*.—The technical execution of the paintings betrays a Greek hand, or a hand trained in the Greek schools. It is precisely the same kind as that known from the Attic vase paintings of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Everything is first sketched in a free and easy way on the soft surface, without colour, and lightly incised with a pointed tool, as a sort of prefatory grouping of the principal features. Then followed the execution of the design in colours (in the present paintings the contours are first marked out in dark grey) with a freedom and independence which often disregard the previously drawn outlines.§ As has been already shown in the chapter describing the tombs, the choice of colours is a limited one, and the style does not rise above the level of provincial art.||

5. *Details of the Decoration*.—In the matter of subject, we note first the decorative use of Pan-athenæan amphoræ decorated with fillets. This is known, from other examples, to belong to the Hellenistic period. Our pieces supplement happily the observations of Cecil Smith on the exactly similar representations of vases in the mosaics of Delos. ¶

* Cf. the dissertation of Vollmöller, *Griechische Kammergräber mit Totenbetten* (Bonn, 1901). No mention is made there, however, of the especially characteristic Alexandrine examples now published in my *Zwei antike Grabanlagen*. For *klinai* in Phœnician grave monuments, cf. the relief of the sarcophagus of the Satrap, Hamdy, *Nécropole de Sidon*, Pl. XXI, 2, and the Cyprus sarcophagus from Athenaiou, Perrot and Chipiez, *Phœnicia*, II, p. 216.

† Cf. Watzinger, *de Vaseis pictis Tarentinis capita selecta* (Bonner dissert., 1899), p. 13.

‡ Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, Pl. XVIII, 3a, 4, XIX, 13.

§ Cf. Furtwängler-Reichold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (München, 1900), p. 20, and "Vorzeichnung" in the Index; also the analogies from Etruscan and Pompeian frescoes there compared. For analogies from Pompei, cf. Donner, apud Helbig, *Wandgemälde Campaniens*, pp. lxxi, lxx.

|| From the point of view of style and technique the coloured funeral stelæ recently found by Macridy Bey in the excavations for the Imperial Ottoman Museum at the necropolis of Sidon in 1901, and now in Constantinople, are most closely related to these paintings. All belong to the later Hellenistic period.

¶ *Annual of the British School at Athens*, III, p. 186, Pl. XVI. Cf. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1884, p. 177.

The two sacrificial vessels on the Hellenistic round tables with lion feet (in Tomb I) are very well worthy of notice. Small altars of a form similar to these tables are often to be seen in Hellenistic reliefs,* and here and there originals of a simpler shape have been preserved.† But of what sort is the offering? Is it an incense offering? Scarcely, for where was a Thymiaterion ever represented burning in this fashion? Does the fire in an incense basin, not swinging to and fro but standing still, ever blaze out between the coals in such clear, long flames?‡ Have we not here rather a pure fire offering after the Persian fashion? It can be shown from other sources that Persian culture exercised a strong influence on Phœnicia, especially on the Sidonian court, and it seems to me probable that we have here a new evidence of the existence of that influence.§ It may be added that the loop handles on the sacrificial vessels suit such a connection.|| On the other hand, the tall, slender, metal candelabra,¶ with the clay lamps set upon them (in Tomb II), appear to be purely Phœnician. Their nearest analogies are the fine, large specimens from the Sidonian royal tombs, and the quite similar ones from Curium in Cyprus.** The details of form and ornament are naturally those of the later Greek art.

The custom of hanging wreaths over the graves, and the further custom of representing such wreaths in paintings or reliefs on the graves, is so common in the Hellenistic period in Greece,†† southern Italy‡‡ and Alexandria,§§ that it scarcely needs to be mentioned.

* Cf. Schreiber, "Alexandrinische Toreutik" (*Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie*, XIV, p. 444).

† *Ib.*, p. 445.

‡ For a different view of the character of this sacrifice, cf. Chap. II, p. 21.

§ I hope elsewhere to bring satisfactory proof of this. With regard to the very strong Assyrian influence in Sidon, which prepared the way for the Persian influence, and the renewed prosperity of the city resulting therefrom, cf. Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, III, p. 138.

|| Cf. for the connection of *klînê* and fire altar the reliefs of the Persian royal tombs, for example, on the grave of Darius, Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, III, p. iv. Even the modern sacred fire vessels retain something of the antique Grecian form; cf. representation in Dieulafoy, *Acropole de Susse*, p. 395.

¶ For a different view of the nature and purpose of these candelabra, cf. Chap. II, p. 32.

** Illustrated in Hamdy, *Nécropole de Sidon*, p. 90, and Perrot and Chipiez, *Phœnicia*, II, p. 412. Cf. also representations of such candlesticks on stelæ.

†† E.g., in the fine tomb at Eretria, *Ephemeris archaeologica*, 1899, p. 11.

‡‡ E.g., *Monumenti antichi pubblicati dall' Accademia dei Lincei*, VIII, Pl. V—VII.

§§ Cf. H. Thiersch, *Zwei antike Grabanlagen bei Alexandria*, p. 8.

The stiff palmetto in the gable above the main tomb chamber at the back of E (in Tomb I) has a close analogy in the still stiffer representations on gabled stelæ from Carthage.*

The kerberos and the cocks† belong to the Grecian Chthonic cycle of ideas; similarly, also, the two eagles, as it would seem. One may suspect that their red colouring is only due to the painter's peculiar delight in colour, he having at hand the pot of red paint just used for the fire vessels. The eagle, more than any other bird, is the creature of the later funereal art.‡ That besides this there is perhaps some connection in thought with the two eagles of the Ptolemaic "coats of arms," one may well suppose, since this tomb (as we have already seen) was built under the rule of the Ptolemies. But that is not the only important feature to be observed. The visible rapid movement of birds in the air has always been associated by man with the fleeting motions of the soul, coming and going of itself, unhindered by bodily limitations; and more especially has he associated with it the mighty powers which, like the realms above, are invisible, viz., deities and demons. These have everywhere, and at all times, been represented as flying or winged creatures; and the human soul itself, bodiless and invisible, especially after the death of the body, has been with equal persistence connected with birds.§ Thus it was that the Egyptians believed that a man's soul returned after the death of the body, like one of the birds of passage so characteristic of their country.|| It was only a gradation from the individual to the universal, an ascent from the soul of a single short-lived insignificant man, to the enormous immensity of the soul-nature of the whole world, when the fable of one of these birds told of the regeneration of this ever-dying and ever-reviving

* *C.I.S.*, I, Nos. 258, 265 (Plate XLVII).

† Cf. Roscher, *Myth. Lexicon*, s.v. Kerberos, p. 1128, and Loeschke, "Aus der Unterwelt," *Dorpater Programm*, 1888; V. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*², pp. 271 sqq.

‡ Cf. with regard to the eagle on the ridge of the Alexander sarcophagus, Studniczka, *l.c.*, p. 240 sqq. Also the eagles on the pediments of the *hasne* at Petra and of the Nabataean tomb gables in Euting, *Nab. Inschr.*, p. 15. An eagle sculpture was found at the necropolis of Beit Jibrin itself, Clermont Ganneau, *Revue* IV, 155. For a later time, cf. Bruno Schröder, *Studien zu den Grabdenkmälern der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Bonner Dissertation), 1902, p. 24 sq. Cf. also Reinach apud Hamdy, *Nécropole*, p. 275 sq.

§ For Oceania, Australia, America and Africa, cf. Frobenius, *die Weltanschauung d. Naturvölker*, pp. 1-76.

|| Cf. Keller, *Tiere des klassischen Altertums*, p. 442; Wiedmann, apud Hommel, *Äthiop. Physiologus*, p. xxxix.

world of ours.* The bird was called the *bennu*, and although the Greeks heard of it, they never really knew its nature. Such birds of passage were unknown to them, and such ideas as the wandering of the soul were not familiar to their religious environment. It is not merely a change of word, it is a transformation of the creature itself which we find in the "Phoenix" of the Greeks.† It was believed, for the first few centuries at least, to be something like an eagle. The Grecian belief that the souls of the great ones ascended to Olympus, to the realm of Zeus, made this bird, the only one which was able to fly up to the sun, the symbol of the human soul ascending to heaven.‡ The figure of the eagle is so impressive that we may doubt whether anything could have been found to convey a more vivid idea of the belief in question. It had for its result that the familiar "Phoenix" was nearly forgotten, and at times when old Oriental tales or exotic birds from the East were brought into imperial Rome—where the eagle flying up from the flames of the funereal pile§ was a regular feature—no one believed or could prove that this strange bird was the veritable famous Phoenix.|| It is well-known that reminiscences of the old beliefs associating the human soul with the flight of birds are by no means wanting at the present day even in our highly civilized world; one need only mention the stork.

To return to the red eagles of Beit Jibrin. A better illustration to Herodotus, II, 73, can scarcely be found than here. He says that in his day the Phoenix was believed to have red feathers, and that in size and appearance it closely resembled the eagle. To me at least it seems to be impossible to suppose that the red colouring is due only to a mistake, or is the effect of mere arbitrariness. It is to be remembered that in the long series of more or less uncommon animals in the tombs each is depicted with its characteristic colours, and we need not doubt that the redness of the eagles is intentional. Further, the red flames bursting from the fire-altar beneath, and the red colouring of the two eagles above, are perhaps not unrelated to one another. From Ethiopic translations of Greek texts from

* Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 253 *seq.*

† Herodotus, II, 73.

‡ The earliest example in Egypto-Syrian literature is in the account of the death of Alexander the Great (Pseudo-Callisthenes, II, 41).

§ Herodian, IV, 2.

|| Pliny, *N.H.*, X, 5.

Egypt we know that it was believed that the Phoenix immolated itself on an altar and arose anew out of the ashes thereon,* and to me it seems most improbable that the eagle would have ever attained its importance in the funereal rites of classical times were it not that it had taken its most characteristic features from the Phoenix.†

The hunting group at the commencement of the animal frieze brings us again into the closest relations with Sidon; for in olden times‡ the chase was evidently a favourite sport with the Phœnicians. Here again the nearest analogy are the well known sarcophagi from the Sidonian royal tomb. On all the sarcophagi found by Hamdy, so far at least as they contain figured representations, the hunt is represented, and in these representations the leopard appears as one of the favourite animals of the chase. The species of hound is the same as in the present tombs. The manner of hunting on horseback, and the way in which the dogs attack, falling on the game from behind, the diversification of the scene by means of trees, all this bears the closest resemblance to the hunting frieze on the base of the Sarcophagus of the Weepers.§ On closer examination it will be seen that here also is found the same Persian costume: the dark red tricot breeches,|| the short petticoat girded around the middle, the *chlamys* with flowing sleeves, the *kandys*, the characteristic head-covering in the form of a sort of Phrygian cap with long tassels,¶ the highly decorated saddle-cloth,** all these have their nearest analogy in Hamdy's sarcophagi. So likewise the costume of the attendant footman, his feet wrapped in bandages and the rest of his legs naked (Tomb I), and the broad insertion in the short, gaily coloured coat of the musician (Tomb II), bring back to mind the figures of the "Alexander sarcophagus."†† For the long and very straight trumpet a Hellenistic analogy is found in the well-known weapon-relief from Pergamon.* The rider is evidently the prince Sesmaios or Apollophanes, who, like his

* Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

† Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 251 sqq.

‡ Cf. the hunting scenes on the well known Cyprian silver bowls, and the sarcophagus of Atheniaou, Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Phœnicia*, II, fig. 143.

§ Hamdy, *Nécropole*, Pl. X. Cf. also Studnitzka, *l.c.*, p. 234. || *Id.*, Pl. XI.

¶ This part of the picture has been badly injured by the fanatical hand of the Sheikh. Nevertheless, according to the photograph, it appears to me that the headgear in question is actually to be seen there.

** Hamdy, *Nécropole*, Pl. XXXIV—XXXVI.

†† *Id.*, Pl. XXXIV, XXXV.

‡‡ *Altertümer von Pergamon*, II, Pl. XLV, 1. Cf. Droysen's text, p. 113.

royal countrymen, was devoted to the hunt, and caused himself to be immortalized here in a similar but much simpler fashion.*

6. *The Animals*.—The unmistakable delight in the animal world is, as is evinced by the preference for the Egyptian fauna, evidently something connected with the Grecian culture in the kingdom of the Ptolemies. From Herodotus down to the time of the later Roman empire, we can follow the impression which the long, narrow and sharply defined land of Egypt made upon the rest of the ancient world, not only by the remarkable constructions of human hands which it contained, but also by its singular nature world.† In Alexandria, under the Ptolemies, there appears to have been something like a royal zoological garden behind the palace.‡ But this interest in the animal world was not merely a personal idiosyncrasy or a dynastic whim, the earnest, scientific sense of the scholarly work of exact thinkers was attracted also. In one way or another this animal frieze may be regarded as a radiation of the thoughts and interests centred at that time in Alexandria, an unexpected reflection in the provinces which illuminates the culture of the capital from a new side.

The ancients had their fables about all the animals here represented, which need not be cited further in detail.§ Theories based on the undeniable

* Worthy of notice in this connection are the skulls of the sacrificed hounds buried with the royal corpse in the sarcophagus (Hamdy, *Nécropole*, p. 27).

† Especially in mosaic representations. Cf. Gerspach, *La Mosaïque*, p. 24. The most important piece of this sort, which has also the names attached, is the great mosaic of Palāstrina, of which, unfortunately, there exist only the old inaccurate prints of Gori and Peralişi. Cf. *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 1874, p. 127. Photographs have now been made by Mosconi, Nos. 9057 sqq.

‡ Even the kings concerned themselves with the description of the animals kept there. Cf. for the elephants, Athenæus, XIV., 654. Cf. also Lumbroso, *L'Egitto al tempo dei Greci e dei Romani*, p. 105 sq. The rhinoceros especially caught their fancy, cf. Strabo, XVI, 774. Cf. also the wild animals on the *ῥομφαία* of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Schreiber, *die Wiener Brunnreliefs aus Palazzo Grimani*, p. 17; cf. Hommel, *Athiop. Übersetz. d. Physiologus*, pp. xi and xxxiii, sqq.; Lenz, *Zoologie d. alten Griechen u. Römer* (Gotha, 1856).

§ For the eagle-griffin, cf. Furtwängler in Roscher (s.v. "Gryps," p. 1768). On the vase of Xenophantes, the lion-griffin is hunted as a wild animal like the boar by the Persians. Cf. Reinach's deductions in Hamdy, *Nécropole*, p. 276 sq. For the old Phœnician monuments, cf. the representations of the battles with griffins and sphinxes on the well-known Cyprian silver and bronze bowls. The two fishes seem to be drawn altogether from fancy. Even among the sixty or more different kinds of fishes on the mosaic of Sousse in North Africa no such forms are found (*Revue d'Archéologie*, 1897, II, Pl. XI). We are tempted to think of the so-called "dragon heads" which live in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, the most hideous species of which is the "saddle head." The bristles and hornlike excrescences, as well as the red, brown and yellow colours of the scales, are recalled by our pictures. Cf. Brehms, *Tierleben*, pp. 55 sqq.

personal interest taken by the first possessor of this tomb in the animal world, which would make of him an ancient Hagenbeck, or a rich Phœnician merchant, who, in his travels through distant seas, had collected exotic animals for his royal master in Egypt or Syria, that is to say, a sort of court purveyor to his majesty, Ptolemy III or Antiochus IV, are improbable.

As little can we prove, what is in itself credible, that a connection exists between the representations in Tomb I and the varied representations of animals in the tombs of the Old Kingdom of Egypt. Since the time of the great tomb robbery under Cambyzes, the Phœnicians may, in fact, have known what the interior of the Egyptian graves looked like; and with the booty which the Sidonian fleet brought home for their kings from those tombs we are now familiar.*

But independently of this, it is not so surprising to find an animal-frieze of so pronounced a type as that at Marissa in the Hellenistic period and near Alexandria, where scientific studies flourished at that time. How much such animal-representations were preferred by the Hellenistic nobles of Palestine finds a proof at the present day in the ruins of the Palace of Hyrcanus at 'Arāk el-Emīr, which is only a few years younger than those under consideration (175 B.C.), and whose chief adornment consists of an encircling animal-frieze.† Further, mention may be made of the Palace of Herod Antipas at Tiberias, whose animal-representations on the outside aroused Jewish iconoclasts, to whose fanaticism it was eventually a sacrifice (Jos., *Vita*, 12).

In every respect, the graves of Marissa are of no mean importance. They have given us an unlooked-for glimpse into an unexpectedly varied mixture of peoples and cultures, a Phœnician settlement on Jewish-Idumæan soil, under Egyptian-Syrian rule, with a culture which, with the exception of some Persian influences, is, chiefly Greek. We have here a new illustration for Thumbs' description of Greek culture in Syrian lands,‡ that it was Greek in the same way as, for instance, the Russian Baltic provinces are, or, at least were, German. From the archaeological standpoint the tombs furnish also new evidence of the dependence of Phœnician art upon, and its composition out of, foreign, and at this period chiefly Greek, elements. Nevertheless, I doubt whether it may be said of these people as Aristotle said of a Jew

* Cf. Hamdy, *Nécropole de Sidon*, p. 373.

† Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte*, pl. 30-32; cf. Jos., *Ant.* xi, 4 11.

‡ *Die Griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, 1901, pp. 103-105.

whom he met in Asia Minor: 'Ελληνικὸς ἦν οὐ τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ,* because we must admit that the Greek influence was only a superficial one, and was not at all deeply absorbed by the characteristic un-Grecian Semitic nature, which had no appreciation for finer æsthetic motives. And so it must be clearly stated here, in conclusion, that despite the Greek veneer the whole is genuinely Phœnician. There is, in fact, nothing which is so closely related in point of style to the tombs of Marissa, with its heavy, dull and somewhat slovenly art, as the Hellenistic stelæ from Carthage, a great number of which are published in the second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. Even the individual elements are the same in both: the same Ionic pillars, the same frieze with wide metopæ, the same stiff palmettos, the same slender pointed palm-leaves, the same round wreaths, the same slim candelabra, &c.

An important contemporary analogy, emanating from the same stock as the tombs of Marissa, is furnished by the Jewish cemeteries of Tell el-Yahûdîeh, the ancient Leontopolis of Lower Egypt. Naville and Griffith (*The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias*, p. 13) have already emphasised the close relation they have with the Palestinian and Phœnician types. The inscriptions of the stelæ (*ib.*, Plates III, IV) approximate to those in the present work in point of age and style. What is particularly interesting is the Glaukas of Plate IV, No. 4, a name reminding us of Glaukon in No. 15 (p. 47 above), and the well-known attribute *φιλότεκνος*, which is associated with him, reminds us of the similar epithet *φίλοικεϊστάτος* in our inscription of Apollophanes (No. 1, p. 38, above). Further, in Tell el-Yahûdîeh, also, the corpses were *not* embalmed nor were they mummified. Finally, the covering of the loculi in the neighbouring necropolis itself, by means of bricks (Plate XIV, and XVI, 17) corresponds to what has been said above (p. 85) on the origin of the gabled loculus.

H. TH.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE ANIMALS AND THEIR TITLES.

Dr. Thiersch calls attention in the above chapter to the fact that Tomb I. was constructed in the Ptolemaic period, and shows evident marks of Egyptian influence. The hunting scene in the animal frieze has its most striking analogy, as he suggests, in the hunting scenes on the Sidonian sarcophagi discovered by Hamdy-Bey. But in general the animals here depicted represent the African fauna, and their treatment is Græco-Egyptian. The eagles at the rear of the tomb have the characteristic scraggy appearance of the Ptolemaic period. Dr. Selah Merrill writes in regard to this point:

* Cf. Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*,³ III, 10.

"Scraggy feathers on eagles are a mark of the Ptolemaic period from its very beginning. In some cases the birds look as if they had just been pulled out of the water. I know of no reason for this, and this feature is all the more surprising when we compare the coins of Tyre and Sidon that were struck by the Antioch kings. On the coins the feathers of the birds are finer, smoother, and more artistically arranged."

Dr. Merrill also calls attention to the fact that while certain Palestinian animals are represented in this group, such as the leopard, porcupine, wild goat, oryx, wolf (?), and lynx, "these are different species from those found here, although the lynx with tufts of hair standing erect from the tips of his ears resembles the red lynx of this country. They are all, however, African species."

Dr. Merrill further notes the tendency in Oriental work of this sort "to grotesqueness in representation of birds, animals, and men," now as well as in former times. "In the case of the mosaics that have been uncovered in Jerusalem within the past few years, dating perhaps about A.D. 400, the colours are fine as well as the general effect; but many of the birds and animals represented in them would, if reproduced in actual life after those patterns, be considered as strange and unknown creatures."

It is clear that some of the animals here depicted were familiar to the painter, and others not. The horse, dog, leopard, buffalo, wild boar, oryx, elephant, crocodile, ibis, hippopotamus, wild ass, porcupine, and lynx are reasonably true to nature. The panther, as pointed out above, is really a lion. The giraffe was apparently known to the painter only by description, and the same would seem to have been true of the rhinoceros. There are in all six fabulous or unknown creatures: the griffin, the two fishes, a tapir-like creature, a lynx-like creature, and the man-faced lion; the last five on the north or left hand frieze. The griffin is a composite and purely fabulous creature, but familiar to the thought and art of antiquity. Our specimen might well pass for an accurate reproduction of the description from Ktesias in *Ælian*;^{*} for the reason, presumably, that the one is described, and the other painted from a figure well known and fixed by the conventions of art and use long before the time of either. Similarly, I presume, the other composite creature in our frieze, the man-headed lion, was fabulous, and something known to the artist from representations existing at his time. It bears a striking resemblance to the lion of the Persian coat-of-arms, and to the similar man-headed lion which is a favourite figure on the brass plaques and bowls of Persian design, covered with uncouth and impossible animal figures, which are manufactured in Damascus to-day, after conventional patterns that have been handed down for centuries. The picture in our tomb is, I believe, the earliest representation of this creature known; but it is itself, probably, a more or less accurate reproduction of an already long since conventionalised type. One is reminded of the composite types which appear from an early date in Oriental art, apparently arising independently in Babylonia and Egypt, and especially of the man-headed lion, bull and eagle which, spreading, from Babylonia westward, were adopted both in Jewish and Christian symbolism. Possibly germane to this use of the lion is the Jewish hero title Ariel, "lion of god" (apparently, through confusion of roots, also meaning the hearth or burning place of the altar), and the similar title used by Arabs and Persians (Bochart, *Hieros.*, I. S. 716, 757 in Gesen.). The name of

* Cf. Lagrange, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie*, 1902 (reprint, p. 3).

this creature as here given is unfortunately illegible. The first and last letters appear to be plain, **H** and **C**, and between these there seems to be room only for three average letters, which might mean also two or four according to the letters and the way they were written. One is, of course, reminded of *Ἡρῶς*, in the sense perhaps, of demi-god. The space is just suited to the word *Ἥλιος*, sun. It has already been noticed that on the neighbouring door-jamb of this chamber is scribbled an inscription (No. 34) commencing *Ἥλιος καίωρ*, "burning sun" (p. 60.)

The fishes do not seem to be fabulous creatures, but rather represent a pseudo-scientific theory of the universe. All ancient cosmogonies represent more or less clearly the three kingdoms, the heavens, the earth, and the deep beneath. In Greek mythology the sea was peopled with gods, demi-gods and the like, corresponding to those in the earth. Out of this, or as part of the same idea, grows the conception of similar or corresponding existences, and we have mermen, mermaids, and the like. These two fishes, as has been already noted, correspond to the elephant and rhinoceros, a further pseudo-scientific development of this idea of the correspondence of the two kingdoms. Here, also, I fancy the painter is merely representing the ideas of his time, and probably reproducing pictures already in existence. Evidently, however, elephant and rhinoceros fishes were not yet the common property of the literary and artistic world in the sense that the griffin was, or even the man-lion, for here there are no traces of names.

The other two unknown creatures are, apparently, not fabulous animals, but attempts to represent some creature supposed to exist; but, not being accurately described by those who had seen them, they are incorrectly drawn by the naturalist. Here, also, probably, our artist is merely copying names and pictures from the natural histories of his day.

With reference to the occasion and reason for the choice of such a decoration for this tomb, Dr. Selah Merrill makes the following interesting suggestion: "We know how fond the Assyrian kings were of collecting animals from all parts of the world for their menagerie parks, and how fond they were of killing these animals, a pastime which they called hunting. The Antioch kings likewise made collections of animals for public shows. Furthermore, it is well known that great collections of animals from different parts of the world were made by order of the Roman emperors, which were exhibited in combats on grand occasions for the entertainment of the people. There must have been many collectors of such animals, and great places where they were kept until they were to be sent on to Rome. May not this man, or this family, have been a collector of African animals for the royal shows at Antioch? It does not seem at all improbable that this man had something to do with collecting or forwarding such animals. It is quite a common thing to find upon a tomb some memorials of a man's occupation—as carpenter, tailor, jeweller, mason; or of some characteristic of the deceased, as, for example, hospitality. And possibly this Beit Jibrin tomb was designed to commemorate the business by which its owner during his lifetime was distinguished."

J. P. P.

* But see the different view represented by Dr. Thiersch, above, p. 91 seq.

CHAPTER VI.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

RHODIAN JAR HANDLES—VASES—GOLD LEAF.

Among the rubbish in the main hall of Tomb I we found fragments of a small round altar of the same white, chalky stone of which everything here is made, with fine outlines above and below.* It was approximately 60^{cm} in height, and stood perhaps on the *klinē*. At the foot of the *klinē* we found also a clay lamp, intact, of the common Hellenistic form, without any decoration.† Sherds of pottery of two sorts were found, both well known, and belonging also to the Hellenistic time; namely, fragments of large, pointed amphoræ without mouldings, and of small, slender flasks of a grayish clay, also without mouldings, and with the well-known bulge in the middle of the belly of the bowl. We further succeeded in rescuing, in room C of Tomb I, three stamped handles of Rhodian jars (Plate XXI). The stamp on the first of these is a rectangular oblong. It contains no device, but the inscription *ἐπι(θ)αρσιπολιος καρνειον*. This is identical with number 113 in Macalister's lists of Rhodian stamped jar handles found at Tell Şandañannah (*Quarterly Statement*, 1901, Jan., p. 40 *sq.*). The *Θ* in this, as in Macalister's specimen, is a mere dot, but is proved by the following much clearer example in his list, No. 114.

The stamp on the second is oval and almost round; the device, Helios in the centre, is surrounded by the inscription *ἐπι νικασαγορα παναμου*. The name is the same as in Macalister's No. 171, but the name of the month is different, and here there is a device, while in Macalister's specimen there is none.

* Similarly in Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pl. V, 6-8.

† See Plate XXI. Very similar pieces were found also in Hamdy's Sidonian Royal vault.

The stamp of the third is like the preceding in shape, the device, a rose in the centre, surrounded by the inscription *ἐν Α(ρισ)τοφανεύς Σμυθίου*. The name is here the same as in Macalister's No. 29, but in his specimen, month, name and device are wanting. Moreover, in our specimen the stamp is oval; in his, rectangular.

It seems more than a coincidence that the three Rhodian stamps in this grave should bear the same makers' names as those found by Bliss and Macalister in the Seleucidan city opposite.

In this tomb we found also several large pieces of wood, and quite a number of iron nails, remnants, perhaps, of the plundered and broken wooden coffins. Perrot and Chipiez know only stone and leaden coffins in Phœnicia. Hamdy, however, found wooden boards beneath the bodies in the graves of Sidon.

Among the objects from Beit Jibrin which have reached Jerusalem through the dealers in antiquities, and which can be traced with certainty to these tombs, are three fine vases of reddish glass, with handles of whitish glass attached, from 12 to 20^{cm} in height* (Plate XXII).

Attention has been called elsewhere (p. 73) to a small gold leaf, now in the possession of Mrs. Way of Jerusalem, purchased by her in Beit Jibrin, and which, from the date of her visit and purchase, may have come from one of the tombs. In addition to this small gold leaf, mention may be made of two interesting glass vases of a bluish-green colour, each with two heads of the characteristic Græco-Phœnician type on opposite sides of the bellies of the vases, which were obtained at the same time, and may likewise have come from the tombs (the two small pottery vases are also from tombs in this neighbourhood).

Presumably a moderate excavation—out of our power owing to lack of time—sufficient to clear out the tombs, would result in the discovery of other small objects of a character similar to those here described.

J. P. P.

* This information was imparted to us by the owner of these vases, who had himself visited the tombs, and whose agent had purchased the antiquities on the spot.

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 Βερνικη, 70.
 Βηθεβριμ, 7.
 βιώσας, 40.
 Γλαύκων[ος], 47.
 ἡρύψ, 25.
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η . . . ι, 28, 95.
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 ινι . λ (?), 27.
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 Κλεοπάτρα, 64.
 Κοσάδου, 46 *sg.*
 Κοσβάνου, 46.
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 κροκόειλος, 27.
 Λιβανου, 24.
 λύκος (?), 27.
 λύνει, 28.
 Μακίδων, 56.
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 Μύρων, 60.
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 ολωουλ, 50.
 ὄσκαριος, 27.
 Ὀρταμέξ, 51.
 Ὀρτάς, 56.
 ὄρως, 25.

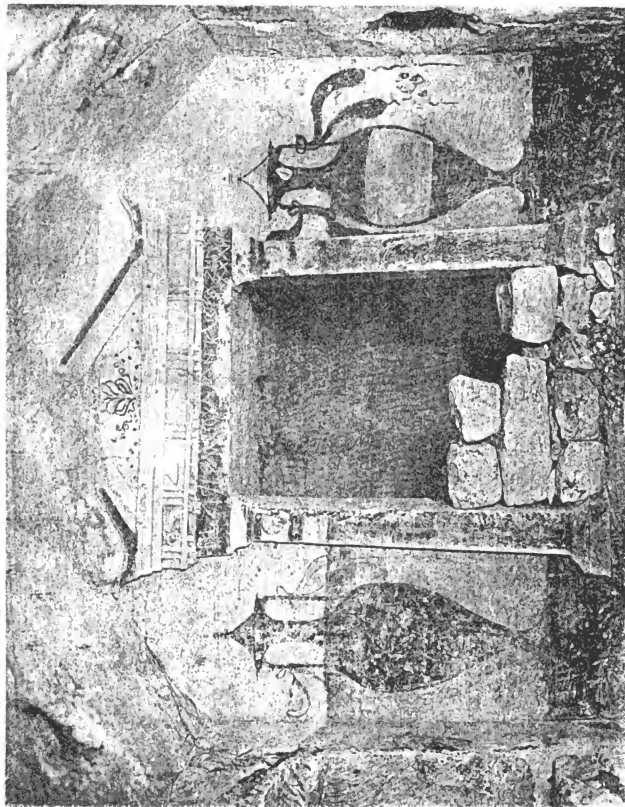
πάνθηρος, 24.
 πέρδαλος, 24.
 Πατροβαλ, 71.
 Πέρσις, 65 *sg.*
 Ποβα . . (?), 71.
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 Σεομάου, 44.
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 Τεῦρον, 25.
 ὕστριξ, 28.
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 . . . λυκο . . . , 25.
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 . . . ωλιος, 47.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND



PLATE IV.





Reis & Davidson, 188, 188a.

C. Reis, 188a.

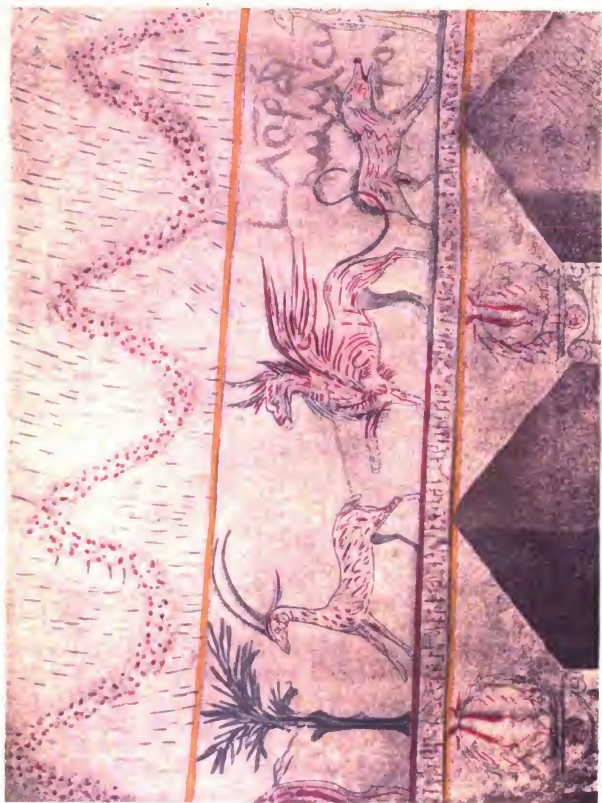
NICHE AND KLINE IN TOMB I.





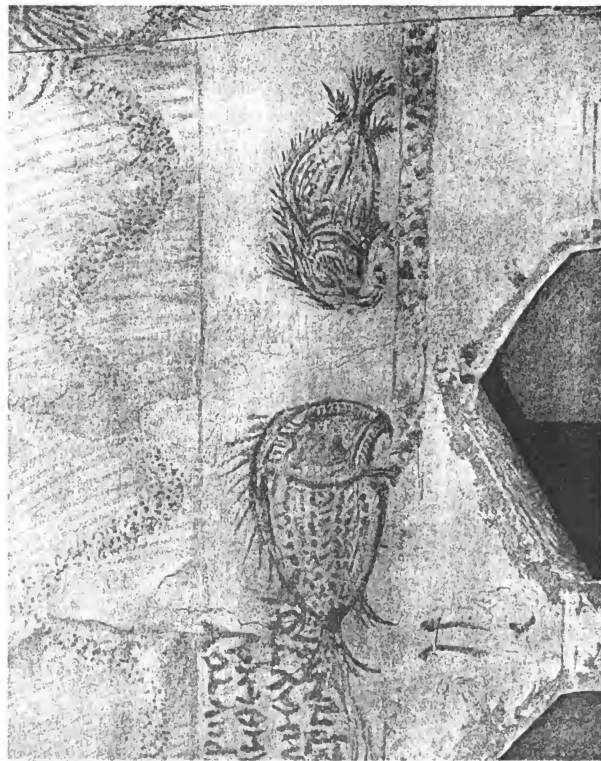


THE BULL AND THE GIRAFFE SOUTH WALL OF TOMB I



THE OBVY AND THE GRIFFIN SOUTH WALL OF TOMB I



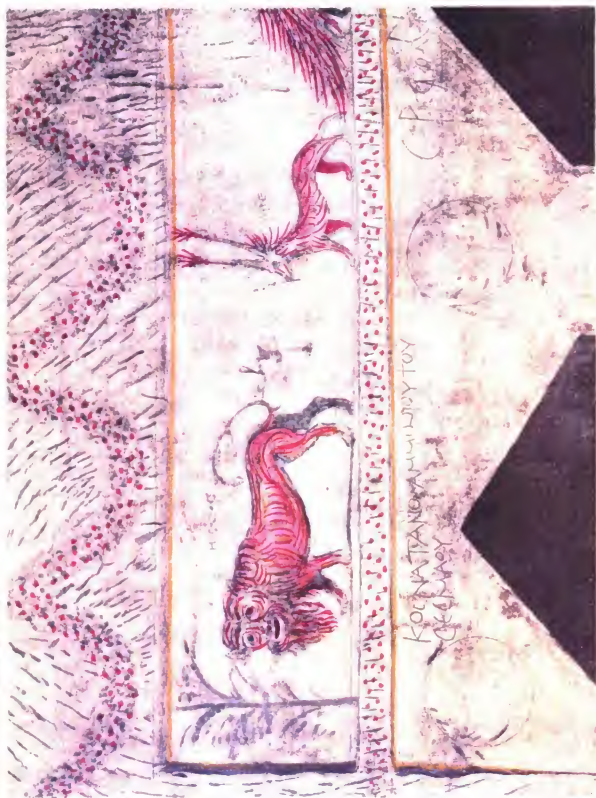


THE FISHES. NORTH WALL OF TOMB I.













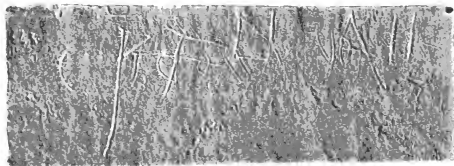
No. 3.



No. 4.



No. 5.



Nos. 6-8.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.



Nos. 9, 14.



Nos. 9, 14.



No. 11.

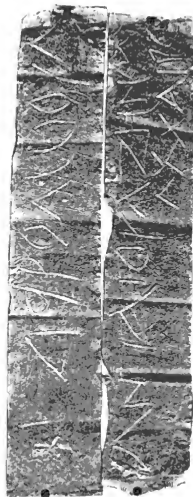
GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.



Nos. 12a, 13.



No. 15.

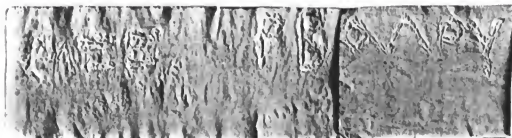


No. 19.

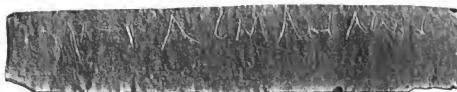


No. 19.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.



No. 20.



No. 31.



No. 37. (No. 2 in Tomb II.).

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.



STAMPED RHODIAN JAR-HANDLES, LAMP, POTTERY AND IRON FRAGMENTS FROM TOMB 1. (Merrill.)



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